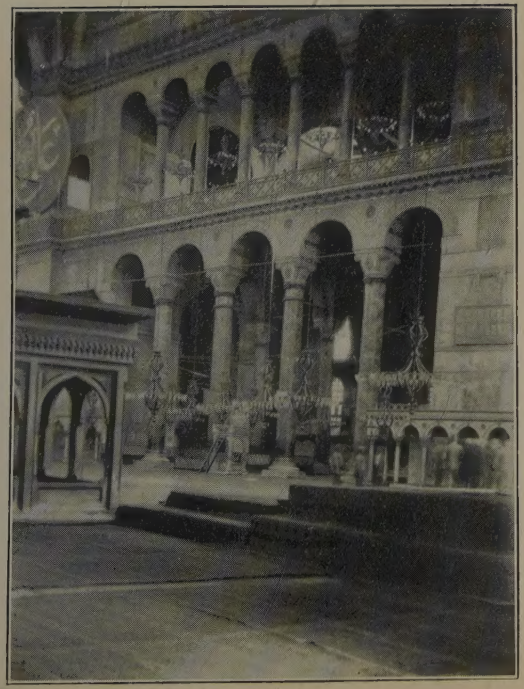
Proceedings of the Hellenic Travellers' Club. 1930



INTERIOR SANTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

Photo : J. F. ROXBURGH.

PROCEEDINGS

of the

HELLENIC TRAVELLERS' CLUB

1930.

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PREFACE.

DURING the past season the Club has maintained its record with four delightful and successful cruises to Hellenic lands, one in the early Autumn of last year and three in the Spring of this year.

We owe to the kindness of the Dean of St. Paul's an interesting description of one of these voyages, which will be found in the following pages.

Canon Wigram again accompanied the cruises and placed the stores of his vast information and his wonderful gifts as a lecturer at the disposal of our members.

With regard to the itineraries for the coming season, the members were all consulted by letter and asked to vote on postcards for alternative itineraries. The result of the voting was to exclude Constantinople and to give rather more time to Greek lands. The new itineraries will be found at the end of this book.

A cruise will be arranged for the Club in February of next year to Magna Græcia and North Africa, including visits to Algiers, Tunis, Carthage, Kairouan, Girgenti, Syracuse, Palermo, Segesta, Naples, and Pæstum, with a call at Ajaccio before reaching Marseilles.

SCULPTURE IN GREEK MUSEUMS.

By Professor Ernest Gardner.

The study of sculpture in the museums of Greece differs in many ways from that of Greek sculpture as it is to be seen in many European collections. There is, in the first place, the great advantage that it is seen in or near the places for which it was originally designed, in the clear air of Greece, and amidst the associations and surroundings that harmonise with it. But there is a still greater difference in the actual state of the sculptures themselves. Most of the great museums of Europe, such as those in Rome or the Louvre at Paris, are filled with statues which give us an inadequate and often misleading impression as to the Greek sculpture which they appear to represent. The provenience of many of them is unknown; or, even if it is known, gives little clue to the locality to which they originally belong. Many of them are so much restored that it is not easy to realise what portions of them are ancient; heads are often set upon bodies that do not belong to them; and the impression produced by a mass of such sculptures is bewildering.

In the museums of Greece the conditions are entirely different. Some of the sculpture is kept, as at Olympia and Delphi and in the Acropolis at Athens, on the site to which it belongs. Much has been collected from scattered sites into the National Museum at Athens, which has thereby become one of the finest museums in the world. But the provenience of almost all the sculpture is known and recorded; and for the most part it has been found where it was first set up, not transported elsewhere so as to lose its connexions and identity. But, above all, there is this advantage, that the statues in Greek museums are to be seen now just as they came out of the ground; and that they are in almost all cases Greek originals, not later copies or imitations. We see in them the authentic product of Greek sculptors, at first hand, and are thus

supplied with a trustworthy standard by which we can judge the quality of the work.

At Olympia, the sculptures discovered by the German excavators in 1875-1880 are housed in the museum upon the spot, given by M. Syngros. The most important among them are the architectural sculptures from the great temple of Zeus, and other dedicated statues, of which the best known are the Victory of Pæonius and the Hermes of Praxiteles. The temple sculptures consist of the two great pedimental groups, once placed in the two gables of the temple, and the metopes or square panels, formerly placed over the inner row of columns at each end. All these sculptures were broken up and scattered when the temple was thrown down by an earthquake; but they have been carefully pieced together by the excavators, so that not only the character of the individual figures, but also the composition of the groups, can be studied and appreciated.

The front or eastern pediment represented, as we are told by Pausanias, the preparations for the chariot race of Pelops and Œnomaus. In the middle are five standing figures in somewhat rigid pose, Zeus in the midst and on one side of him Œnomaus and his wife Sterope, on the other Pelops and Hippodamia, whose hand was to be the prize. This central group is framed, so to speak, by the two chariot groups, with grooms and attendants; at the ends are reclining figures of the river gods, Alpheus and Cladius, whose streams border the sacred grove of Olympia. Another remarkable figure is that of an old man, apparently a seer, who seems from his attitude of anxiety to foresee the defeat of his master Œnomaus. The effect of the whole is very quiet and dignified, and appropriate to the great festival of which it represents a typical prototype.

The western pediment is a great contrast in composition and in effect. It represents the battle between Lapithae and Centaurs, which took place at the wedding of Pirithous. In the centre is the majestic figure of Apollo, with outstretched arm, ruling the issue of the combat; on each side of him are groups of struggling figures, Lapith women seized by Centaurs and heroes, Theseus and Pirithous and the rest, in combat with the monsters; at the two ends

are women, older and younger, who seem to have taken refuge. The metopes, representing the labours of Heracles, are many of them fragmentary. The best preserved represent the hero mastering the Cretan bull and holding up the heavens on his shoulder while Atlas brings him the apples of the Hesperides. Another metope shows Athena seated on a rock while the hero offers her the Stymphalian birds which he has caught, others Heracles standing in an attitude of weariness over the slain Nemean lion, and sweeping out the Augean stable with a broom, Athena standing beside him.

All this, however, is no more than may be found in any guide-book—even in that of Pausanias, who describes the sculptures as he saw them in the temple 1,800 years ago. The character and quality of the sculptures require a much more difficult and complicated study. Pausanias says that the eastern pediment was by Pæonius, the western by Alcamenes. These artists were younger contemporaries of Pheidias, and consequently it was expected, before the excavations took place, that the sculptures would resemble in style those of the Parthenon. When they were found, there was some surprise and even disappointment, and many theories were proposed in explanation. Now, however, that these sculptures have taken their due place in the history of Greek art, it is appreciation of their fine qualities that must occupy us rather than an explanation of the absence of characteristics we had no call to look for or the presence of certain obvious defects. And if these sculptures differ from the preconceived notion of archæologists, we should remember that even the grandeur of the Elgin marbles did not at first appeal to a generation used to the delicate prettiness of much Hellenistic art. The Olympian sculptures must then be appreciated for what they are; and artists and archæologists are now agreed in admiration of their merits. There is, first of all, the grand simplicity of design of the eastern pediment, with the five rigidly symmetrical figures in the middle, the god larger than the human competitors, just indicating his judgment by the turn of his head; the admirable frame offered to the central group by the chariots, and the variety in the accessory figures. Contrasted with this is

the design of the western pediment, with its strangely contorted groups of struggling figures, and the majestic figure of Apollo in the midst, not taking part in the fight, but directing its issue with a commanding gesture. And those two compositions, to be rightly understood, must be imagined, not as now placed on a pedestal in the hall of a museum, but set up on high in the stately architectural setting for which they were designed.

If we turn next to consider the style of the figures, we find again that they stand by themselves. Belonging, as they do, to the time between the Persian Wars and the building of the Parthenon, they retain something of archaic stiffness and severity; but on the other hand they show the most precise and accurate knowledge of the human form, especially in the male figures. But there is no exaggeration or display in the use of this knowledge. There is throughout a power of idealising and simplifying, which shows a mastery far removed from the tentative efforts of archaic art. The female figures are not equally successful, especially in relation to their drapery. The two standing figures in the east pediment have a simple and restrained treatment of the heavy Doric dress which is very effective. But in some of the figures, notably in the contorted figures of the west pediment, the representation of the limbs through the drapery is very defective; and there is not, in any case, an appreciation of the beauty of the female figure comparable to that which is felt and expressed for the male figures.

These indications seem to show that the school of sculpture to which the Olympian pediments must be assigned must have been one that concerned itself mainly with athletic subjects, and so won a complete mastery in the rendering of the male form, but was still in an experimental stage in the treatment of the draped figure.

It has been and still is much disputed to whom these sculptures are to be attributed. Pausanias' attribution of them to Pæonius and Alcamenes is now generally rejected, though there are various theories as to how his mistake arose. It seems most probable that the pediments and the metopes, which show great similarity of style throughout, are the work of a local school, trained in the repre-

sentation of athletic victors at Olympia—a training that would explain both their merits and their defects. The designs, as a whole, may be the work of one or more artists. As to who these artists were, we have no evidence, if we reject Pausanias' statement, as I think we must. All we can say is that the grandeur and originality of the conception shows us a phase of Greek sculpture immediately before the time of the Parthenon, and totally different from it.

Other sculptures in the Olympia Museum speak for themselves. The charming and graceful Victory of Pæonius, floating down to alight upon a high column, must always have been an impressive figure, and shows us clearly enough, if style means anything at all, that Pæonius did not design the pediment. It clearly shows the delight in the treatment of the female figure in clinging and floating drapery which is influenced by the art of Athens just after the age of the Parthenon.

The Hermes of Praxiteles, which was found by the excavators on the very spot, in the Heræum, where Pausanias saw it, is too well known for there to be any need to dwell on it now. It is perhaps the only certainly authenticated example of an original from the hand of one of the great masters of antiquity. It is therefore invaluable to us as offering a standard by which we can judge the numerous copies that fill our museums. No cast or photograph can give any adequate notion of this statue, not only in its nobility of conception and beauty of form, but also in the exquisite delicacy of its surface modelling and rendering of texture, as seen in the translucent Parian marble. To see this statue in its proper surroundings, is alone worth the visit to Olympia. Its manly beauty and distinction shows us how far removed is the work of Praxiteles from the current notion of Praxitelean forms in later Greek times, with their over-soft and effeminate travesty of the master's style.

The sculpture to be seen in Athens consists of what is still left on the Parthenon itself and other buildings, of the contents of the Acropolis Museum, all of them found in the excavations on the Acropolis, and of the collection in the National Museum, which contains all the most

important sculptures that have been found upon various sites in Greece.

The sculpture of the Parthenon can of course be studied best in the British Museum. But certain admirable portions, especially of the frieze, can still be seen in Athens. It is particularly valuable to notice how the western frieze, which is still *in situ* over the internal columns, can be seen from a little distance away between the outer columns; and the same is the case in the Theseum. This observation suffices to refute the assertion sometimes made that these sculptures could not be seen when set in their proper place.

The sculpture in the Acropolis Museum was mostly discovered in the complete excavation of the whole site down to the rock which was made by the Greek authorities in 1885 to 1890. The great mass of this sculpture was buried in terracing up the Acropolis after the Persian sack of Athens in 480 B.C. It therefore gives us invaluable information as to the state of Attic art in the period immediately preceding that event. It falls mainly into two classes—the architectural sculptures that decorated the various early temples and the numerous statues which were dedicated in the Acropolis.

The earliest is a series of pedimental and other groups in rough limestone which belonged to the early temple of Athena, the earlier Erechtheum, and other temples. These were probably broken up and buried at an earlier date than the rest, when a peristyle was added by Pisistratus to the early temple of Athena. They show a quaint and even grotesque imagination which resembles that of the early Ionian art. The subjects are mainly connected with Heracles, and give opportunity for the representation of quaint monsters such as the Old Man of the Sea, with his scaly fish-tail, a three-bodied monster human to the waist, and thence continued in snaky coils, and the two great guardian snakes of the Acropolis. The artist has made a clever use of these strange forms to fill the narrowing field of the triangular gable; the whole surface of the stone is richly coloured, the scales in pigment and relief, almost recalling the effect of cloisonné enamel (a process which may have been known to the artist in

Egyptian and other imported wares). The chief architectural group, which was placed over the colonnade added by Pisistratus, offers a contrast to these earlier works. It represented the battle of the gods and giants, and the extant figures include a colossal Athena and two prostrate giants. These are in Parian marble, and of a bold and vigorous style, almost certainly the work of an Attic sculptor.

The most remarkable series of statues found on the Acropolis is a set of female figures in marble, many of them well preserved, and showing considerable remains of their original colouring. It is doubtful whom these statues represent; they were probably dedicated, most of them, to Athena; and the dedicator of such a κόρη or maiden possibly would not clearly realise who was represented. They may be a kind of memorial of the various Athenian maidens who had been in the service of the goddess. However this may be, they offer us a most valuable record of the character and progress of sculpture in Athens in the later years of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth; for the freshness of their colouring, especially when they were first discovered, precludes the possibility that they can have been long exposed to the weather before they were thrown down and buried. These statues of maidens have been the subject of much study which is admirably summarised in Guy Dickins's Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum. There are, in the first place, some which seem to carry on the older Attic tradition, with a certain simplicity and severity of style such as may be seen in the marble pedimental group. Then we find a new influence coming in, mainly from the Ægean islands, with a somewhat delicate and affected style, seen especially in the rich treatment of drapery and the exaggerated expression in lips and eyes. In addition to these we find many others which combine in different degrees the character of the two classes, and seem to show a gradual reassertion of the Attic style, with an added grace and delicacy from the island influence. The more these statues are studied, the more one is impressed with the vigour and individuality of the work, in spite of a certain monotony in the position and type.

In those later still, probably just before the Persian invasion, we find a simplicity and severity of style which may be due to a reaction of Dorian dignity upon Attic grace. These statues are nearly all in marble from the islands, Paxos and Naxos; and they show the greatest skill in making the best use of this beautiful material. The refined modelling of the surface is enhanced by a judicious use of colour. Unlike the rough stone sculpture, which was almost completely covered with a coat of opaque pigment, these maidens of the Acropolis have colour applied only to borders or details of garments, and to the lips, eyes, and hair, thus offering a pleasing contrast to the marble, which is suitable from its tone to render both the flesh of the figures and the greater part of their drapery. The richness of effect thus gained must be seen to be appreciated; here also no photograph or cast can give any adequate notion of the originals.

In addition to some well-preserved portions of the Parthenon frieze, the Acropolis Museum also contains some beautiful reliefs from the famous balustrade of the Victories, studies of graceful winged figures in varied poses, with clinging and floating draperies that are among the masterpieces of Attic art in the time immediately after the Parthenon sculptures.

The National Museum at Athens contains many unique series of sculptures, gathered together from many sites on the mainland and the islands of Greece. In the first place there is a number of the early "Apollo" statues, varying in size from the huge colossus of Sunium to figures less than life size. In these it is possible to trace the development of the male figure from the crudest attempts to the mastery which is attained in the fifth century. They thus form an excellent counterpart to the series of maidens on the Acropolis. There are also many works of the fourth century, the age of Praxiteles and Scopas. Among them are the heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, attributed to Scopas himself, but unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation; and also the sculptures from the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus by Timotheus, an associate of Scopas in the sculpture of the Mausoleum. Then there are the reliefs from the basis

of Praxiteles' group at Mantinea, with Apollo Marsyas and the Muses; and the last colossal group set up in free Greece, Damophorus' statues of Demeter, Despœna, Anytus and Artemis from Lykosura. There are also some fine bronzes, notably an early Poseidon, found in the sea near Thespiæa, and the contents of a wreck found by sponge-divers off the island of Cerigotto, the finest of them a life-size bronze statue of an athlete. A recent acquisition is a very fine bronze statue, either of Zeus or Poseidon, found in the sea near Artamisium; its date is about 460 B.C.

One of the most interesting features of the Museum is its unique collection of tomb reliefs. A few of the finest of these are to be seen in the old cemetery beside the Sacred Way; but the majority have been placed in the Museum. They represent the deceased, often in his or her customary employment. Some have parting scenes, or family groups. All alike seem to bring before us the Athenian men and women as they were in life or among their friends, and they illustrate the domestic side of Greek life in an aspect that we seldom get from literature or other sources.

Though Delphi was not visited by the cruises of 1929-30, a few words must be added about the sculpture found on that site by the French excavators, and placed in the Museum given, like that at Olympia, by M. Syngros. One of the earliest works is a colossal Sphinx, dedicated on a column by the people of Naxos. There are also two very massive statues of early Argive art, representing Cleobis and Biton, which were dedicated in memory of their filial piety, when they drew their mother's car from Argos to the Heræum. Then there are the sculptured decorations of the various treasuries that lined the sacred way, notably those of the Syracusans, of the Siphnians, of the Cnidians, and of the Athenians. These give a most interesting series of reliefs, the finest being the scene of the battle of the gods and giants from the Siphnian treasury. The Athenian, with its metopes representing the exploits of Heracles and Theseus, has been rebuilt, but the sculpture is preserved in the museum, and its place on the building is taken by casts.

The finest individual statue found, perhaps the finest bronze statue in existence, is the charioteer dedicated by a prince of the great Syracusan family, in honour of whose victories Pindar composed some of his most famous odes. The style of this work, which retains something of the simplicity and severity of archaic art, yet shows the utmost grace and dignity, alike in features and in drapery. The life-like expression, given by the inserted eyes overshadowed by the projecting eyelashes, shows us how much we lose in statues of which the eyes are lost or blank. There is also a series of statues dedicated by a Thessalian named Daochus, of which one, the portrait of the pancratiast Agias, was a replica in marble of a bronze original by Lysippus, recorded to have been set up in Thessaly. This statue of Agias is very instructive, because it appears to be an example of a contemporary replica made in the sculptor's studio, and therefore very different in character from the later copies of bronze statues which are familiar in our museums.

The Constantinople Museum is of comparatively recent origin; but containing as it does all the most important sculptures found in recent years within Turkish territory, it has already become one of the finest museums for classical sculpture. The most conspicuous among its possessions is a magnificent series of sculptural tombs found at Sidon. These are all in white marble, and were found buried in a catacomb. It appears that the kings of Sidon for several generations were in the habit of employing the best Greek sculptors of their time to carve their tombs. Four of these are particularly notable for the style and preservation, commonly called those of the Satrap, the Lycian, of the Mourning Women (*les Pleureuses*), and of Alexander. The first of these is so-called from the dignified figure with a long beard, who appears more than once in scenes of feasting and hunting, such as are often found upon Greek tombs, and the art also is purely Greek, resembling most the Ionian work of the time following the Persian Wars; it is extraordinarily refined and delicate. The Lycian tomb is so-called because of its original shape, which is common in Lycia, but not particularly appropriate to Sidon; it has even been suggested that this tomb may

not have been made to order, but acquired in Lycia by a Sidonian prince. What distinguishes it above all is the design and execution of the sculpture, which represents Amazons and Greek youths hunting, and centaurs on the narrower sides. The quality of the work in these is comparable to that of the Parthenon frieze. Indeed it is difficult to resist the inference that some of the sculptors employed on the Parthenon actually made this tomb at Sidon; and it has the advantage of almost perfect preservation.

The tomb of the Mourning Women is in the form of a miniature Ionic temple; and in each of the intercolumniations is placed one of the figures after which it is called. These again show a very close resemblance to Athenian art, especially to the figures which may be seen on the tomb-reliefs of the earlier part of the fourth century. It has been suggested that this may be the tomb of a Sidonian king of that time, who filled his harem with Greek ladies, here represented as mourning over his death.

The Alexander tomb, which is the largest and finest of all, is so called, not because it ever contained the body of Alexander, but because he appears, perhaps more than once, in the reliefs which decorate it. These consist of scenes of battle and hunting, in which Alexander is associated with a prince in Oriental costume who is doubtless the man for whom the tomb was made. The sculpture is most vigorous and lively, if somewhat crowded in composition. The figure of Alexander charging on horseback is perhaps the finest of all the portraits of the great conqueror which we possess. The characterisation of the figures, and the contrast of the sturdy Macedonians with the sensitive and refined Orientals is admirably realised. Above all, the well-preserved colour, in contrast with the white marble, is most impressive; the intensity of expression is enhanced by the colouring of the iris and pupils of the eyes, and gives a life-like effect such as is lost in the blank eye-balls to which we are accustomed. Taken altogether, these tombs show us how the finest Greek art had already penetrated into Asia even before the Hellenistic ages, and prepare us for the great share taken by the Hellenic East in the later history of Greek sculpture.

These are but a few of the works of sculpture to be seen in the Museums of Greece and Greek lands. All of them belong to the ages when Greece was producing her greatest masterpieces, and all of them are originals, showing us at first hand the character of Hellenic work, free from any contamination with later influences.

L'ACROPOLE.

Pour J.P.J.

Debout sur le fronton meurtri du Parthénon
Je songe à Périclès—à son rêve en ruine.
Pleurez, Socrate . . . Phidias . . . pleurez, Zénon !
Le beau marbre s'effrite aux crachats de l'usine . . .

Solitude et silence au sein de l'Acropole,
Sauf, ça et là, le toc d'un outil de maçon ;
Tandis que de la Ville un bruit infâme viole
Cette heure auguste où je distille ma chanson.

Ironique destin d'un chef-d'œuvre inouï !

Regarde ! tes cyprès, honteux, baissent la tête,
Le dos tourné à la Bêtise de la ville !

. . . Laissant à l'implacable Faux que rien n'arrête
D'octroyer le coup de grâce, je reconstruis

Avec un pan du ciel et des tambours flutés

Le rêve surhumain d'une idéalité.

7 avril, 1929. MALCOLM MCLAREN.

Extracted from Poèmes. (Preface by Théo Varlet.) Hachette, London, 3/6.
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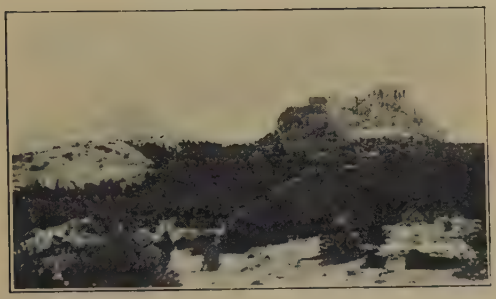


THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS.
Photo : L. BRETT.

TOWER OF THE WINDS, ATHENS.
Photo : F. B. GUEDALLA.

TEMPLE OF ZEUS, ATHENS.
Photo : K. M. C. Gray.

THE PARTHENON FROM THE TEMPLE OF NIKÉ, ATHENS.
Photo : Mrs. Gaussen.

THE GREEKS AT SEA.

By The Rev. Father Ronald Knox.

Delivered on board m.v. "Théophile Gautier," April, 1930.

This lecture is not really a lecture at all. It is an attempt to recapture, in my own mind, the nautical atmosphere of the classics; to remember the great passages and the great periods concerned. I say, in my own mind; and that is a mind which, fifteen or twenty years ago, knew the classics tolerably well; since then, the volume of its contents has shrunk to narrower limits; it is, after all, a very small stock-in-trade of information that the schoolmaster needs in order to impress schoolboys with a sense of erudition. And in the last three years this same mind has, alas, rusted altogether; only the occasional needs of a cross-word or an acrostic have stirred up, now and again, the ancient memories; who am I, that I should lecture about the classics? When the gradual realization was borne in upon me that I was committed to a classical tour in the Mediterranean, conscience got to work. I understood from an undergraduate friend that when he travelled on one of these cruises he found the boat full of schoolmasters, who gathered in a little knot by the bulwarks every time land was sighted, and said to one another, "Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama insula." The same, I began to anticipate, would be expected of me; and was I equal to it? Shamefacedly, I fell back on the school-master's refuge; I prepared the lesson. I would dig about among the classical books which still collect the dust on my shelves, refurbish the mind with old tags, old gobbets of information; I would step aboard the Argo, not a Jason, indeed, but a Pelias revivified from Medea's cauldron. And, while I was about it, why be content with simply looking up the old references? Why not copy them down, and string them together, and call the whole a lecture when I had finished it?

Let me banish at once any fears that may have been aroused by my title. I am, and have always been, a landlubber; this is the first time I have ever spent twelve continuous hours afloat. I do not intend, therefore, to crush you with technical information about ships, their rigging and their management; I know less about it, I suppose, than any soul on board. No, what I would have liked to do would have been to reconstruct, for your benefit and for my own, some picture of what it was really like, going to sea in the old days. I do not mean fighting at Salamis, I mean simply travelling, say, as we are travelling, from Marseilles to Constantinople, in those days, Massilia to Byzantium. I mean, would one have had a cabin, and if so how large, and would it have had any natural light, and how would the sailors be dressed, and what kind of food would you get, and what kind of signals would you make, if any, when you passed another ship, and what sort of price would the tickets be, and all the thousand and one details that go to make up real life. It is an extraordinary thing about the classics; here is a vast quantity of literature, which learned people have read from end to end and digested it all in handbooks and classical dictionaries and so on; and yet if you try to sit down and imagine what it would really have been like, to live through the ordinary actions of twenty-four hours in ancient Greece, or even in ancient Rome, you are constantly having your picture falsified by coming across things which the scholars don't know. It is no more possible to IMAGINE the journey from Massilia to Byzantium in a Greek merchant ship than it is possible to imagine a day spent on the moon. So much for the antiquarians.

One or two obvious facts may, however, be laid down about the general conditions of seafaring, which after all varied very little during the period we call the classical period. Ovid, in the first century A.D., seems by his own account to have been exactly as uncomfortable on board ship as Odysseus a thousand years before him; and the Argonauts, if we may trust Apollonius Rhodius, did very much the same distance in a day as St. Paul did on his missionary journeys. You could cover 110 or 120 miles in a day and a night in a fast ship, a ship of war, and

then only if you were pressed. When the Athenians decided on the destruction of Mitylene, and then repented of their decision, they sent out a second boat with tidings of the reprieve, which was to overtake the first boat, carrying orders for the city's destruction. The sea distance between Athens and Mitylene is 186 miles ; and the first boat was a day and a night ahead of the second. The second boat, carefully prepared for the purpose by the Mitylenean ambassadors, set out to do a record time ; they rowed and slept in shifts, and the rowers actually ate and rowed at the same time, which is, if we are to interpret the phrase literally, a very difficult thing to do. Paches, the Athenian admiral, had actually read the first decree and was about to put it into execution when the second ship reached harbour with the reprieve. It is like one of those mathematical sums. Herodotus says that a ship can cover about 70 miles in a day and 60 in a night ; perhaps their special rush arrangements allowed the second crew to do 140 in the twenty-four hours. On the morning, therefore, on which Mitylene was doomed to destruction the first boat was perhaps 26 miles away from its destination, going at 80 miles a day ; the second was 46 miles away, going at 140 miles a day, and the first reached port an hour or two before the second. That gives us some idea of the possibilities of ancient travel, when you were going at your leisure and when you were rowing against time. We, in the *Théophile Gautier*, cover two or three times the distance the ships of the Greeks used to cover ; and accordingly the world was two or three times as large to them as to us ; for motion is the measure of distance.

The old warships seem to have used sail and oar indifferently, but to have preferred oars when speed was essential. The merchant-ships carried both, but I imagine they only used their oars in case of emergency. What you did with the oars when the boat was under sail, I can find no information and can form no picture. A merchant ship seems to have reckoned on doing an average of sixty miles a day ; that is nearly always St. Paul's rate of travel, though a specially favourable wind could increase the pace considerably ; in the last chapter of the Acts he did the 200 miles between the straits of Messina and Puteoli inside

two days. But of course a merchant vessel would always be coasting if possible, and on principle would be likely, I suppose, to anchor for the night.

Those are the dull details. Now, what are the atmospheres of classical sailing which I am trying to recover? Let us divide them, roughly, into periods. The first period is the Homeric, the fairy-story period, dating (or pretending to date) about a thousand years B.C., before the Greeks became a seafaring people in any real sense. You get the keynote of that period in the famous question of the Odyssey: "O strangers, who are you, and whence sail you the watery ways? Is it on some business, or do you wander rashly, after the manner of pirates, across the sea, men that wander at the risk of their own lives, bringing harm to other folk?" It is obviously quite polite to assume that your guests may be pirates, and is indeed a sort of compliment, because it assumes that they are not afraid of the sea, as any decent merchantman would be. If they were Phenicians, it might be a different matter; but a respectable Greek would probably coast around from harbour to harbour, not taking any unnecessary risks. At no time did the Greeks love the sea; in the Homeric times they hated it. In the Iliad, of course, there is little opportunity for travel. But observe that in the first book, when the envoys are sent to give back the maiden Chryseis to her father, no less than eight lines are occupied with the description of their journey to Chryse, and nine lines to the description of their journey back. The whole distance is about thirty miles, along a perfectly unembarrassed coast line. Only an unfamiliarity with the idea of sea travel could make such a recital possible.

The Odyssey is of course a sea-epic from start to finish. But it would be a great mistake to represent it as a deliberate voyage of adventure. All Odysseus was trying to do was to navigate twelve ships from Troy back to Ithaca, off the west coast of Greece; and his wanderings were not self-chosen, but thrust upon him by contrary winds, by the displeasure of the gods, and so on. Odysseus is represented as crafty in a hundred ways; he knows how to make his escape when he is shut up in a giant's cave, or when an enchantress has turned his companions

into swine ; what he does not know is how to sail a ship —at least, there is no suggestion anywhere that he knows how to sail a ship. He knows how to *make* a ship ; the manufacture of the raft on which he gets away from Calypso's island is a masterpiece of detail. But that only shows that the man who wrote the Odyssey understood how ships were constructed ; it does not show that he had ever sailed in one. And when you look into it I should say that the Odyssey, for a poem which is professedly about the sea all through, shows incredibly little knowledge of nautical actualities.

For one thing, I think you have the sense, in reading the Odyssey, that at the time when it was written a ship was a kind of new invention, of which people were still rather proud—at least in Asia Minor, if that is where the poem was written. Penelope is quite distracted with fear when she hears that her son Telemachus has crossed over from Ithaca to the mainland, a distance considerably shorter than a Channel crossing. " Why," she asks, " has my son gone ? There was no need for him, surely, to mount up on ships, which are to men the horses of the sea, and so they cross over much wet." This, mark you, is supposed to be a queen born and bred on an island ; an island where it was notoriously impossible to ride on horse-back, because there was no level country ; yet she talks about ships as " the horses of the sea." And, just as a teetotaller will always talk about beer as " liquor," so this landlubberly queen will describe the sea as " wetness " ; it is something quite strange to her. And when Odysseus at the end of the story has to expurgate the slaying of the suitors, he is to carry an oar on his shoulders and go with it inland until he comes to a people who ask him why he is carrying a winnowing-fan on his shoulder, people who have never heard of ships or of the sea. That is just the kind of conceit which would occur to a story-maker to whom the whole idea of sea travel had still something of strangeness and novelty. Oh, I know they tell us there were sailing vessels in the Ægean before 2000 B.C., but even if the scholars are right, I feel they must have been rarities. The Odyssey is very particular about describing all the minutest details of navigation, putting up the mast

and hoisting sail and casting anchors and so on, repeating the formula on every possible occasion. The ship was a new toy, something like what the aeroplane is to us.

If the writer knew something about ships, he certainly knew very little about the Mediterranean. It is quite evident from the first that the Odyssey is meant to deal with strange, unexplored worlds in which you may meet any kind of monster or strange people, "the Anthropophagi, and men whose heads do grow between their shoulders"; it is a sailor's yarn, a tall story, which is only likely to go uncontradicted if it confines its descriptions to parts of the world which its audience has never been to. If Homer had been a Viking, writing for Vikings, it would have been probable enough that he should have assigned these strange adventures with sea-monsters and one-eyed giants and the old man who kept the winds in a bag to the Mediterranean. Living in the Mediterranean as he did, why did he not transfer them to the Black Sea (where the Argonauts went), or to the undiscovered coasts that lay beyond the straits of Gibraltar? Clearly because in his day the Mediterranean itself, or rather the Western part of it, was a world sufficiently undiscovered. Homer knows the Ægean; knows the coast of Egypt, and the winds that drive you down to it if you are not careful how you round the southernmost point of Greece. But the Sicilians are a mere name, only once alluded to; and they are barbarians evidently, not Greeks. Surely it is clear that he is writing at a time when it is safe, if you like, to say that Sardinia was full of magic cows, or that the souls of the dead resided somewhere on the west coast of Italy, because nobody is in a position to correct you.

I know M. Bérard went all round the Mediterranean in a yacht, and wrote a book of two thousand pages in which he tried to identify accurately all the chief points at which Odysseus touched. But you can do anything when you resort to such methods of identification. If Homer meant the Odyssey to be the record of an actual cruise, why are all his indications of distance and direction so vague? "So on we sailed, sad at heart, glad to escape death, but lacking our dear companions"—that is the way in which Odysseus keeps his log. Contrast it with the orderly

navigation of Virgil's Æneid, and you find yourself in a different world at once.

There are pictures from Homer that I should have liked to see on this cruise. I should have liked to see the coast of Ithaca; "a rugged land, but a good nurse of heroes, nor can I ever see a sweeter sight than my own country." I was asleep, I am sorry to say, when we passed the coast on which Hector cast fire among the ships of the Greeks. But I did not hope to hear the Sirens, or catch sight of the smoke rising from Circe's roof, because I know they were never really meant to be there; they were just people in a story.

That is the legendary period of Greece, when the sea is a strange thing and an enemy. Then follows the heroic age of Greek navigation. Upon my word, the history of those 250 years, 750—500 B.C., reads more like a fairy-story than the Odyssey itself. It was the age of Greek expansion. During that time, a handful of mainland, Asiatic or island states had planted the whole of Sicily with colonists, and had dotted Greek stations all along the Sea of Marmora, both sides of it, and along the west and north sides of the Black Sea. In all, thirty cities had sprung into being in the western part of the Mediterranean, the westernmost being our port of embarkation, Marseilles. And during the same period, twenty-four cities had sprung into being in the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, the furthest of them being right up in the Crimea. How on earth did they do it? Of those fifty-four colonies, five were founded by Megara alone. Megara was a town with a very small territory attached to it, which had the advantage of being situated exactly on the Isthmus of Corinth, so that it commanded the sea in two directions. But what can have been the size of it? Athens, the largest city of ancient Greece, possibly numbered 200,000 free citizens in the whole of its territory of Attica; but this was at the time of its greatest development, just before the Peloponnesian war. That is to say, it had about the same population as Plymouth. Megara was only a tenth of the size of Attica, and I doubt if its population can ever have exceeded twenty thousand, which is about the population of Bexhill. Yet of these five colonies three

became far more important than the mother-city itself; and one of them, Byzantium, the goal of our journey, has been one of the world's great cities ever since. Miletus, on the Asiatic coast, was more energetic than Megara itself; it produced twelve separate foundations in the same period. These ridiculous little seaside resorts would send off some fourth of their total numbers to a distant and barbarous territory—it might be nine hundred miles away, or nine days' fast travel; and there they would dig themselves in with a stockade and elect magistrates and all the rest of it, and grow into great walled cities, exporting corn to Greece as fast as they could grow it. The enterprise of the mediæval Italian towns, or of Elizabethan England, pales by comparison with it.

Did the Greeks, in these days of their expansion, turn into splendid old sea-dogs, never happy unless they were reefing tight under a strong sou'wester, or whatever the phrase is? There is no evidence of the fact. I wonder whether the literary pose of great devotion to the sea is really a genuine one? We value such sentiments as a patriotic heritage, we English.

"A wet sheet and a flowing sea, a wind that follows fast,
And fills the white and rustling sail, and bends the gallant mast;
And bends the gallant mast, my boys, while like the eagle free
Away the good ship flies, and leaves old England on the lee.
O for a soft and gentle wind! I heard a fair one cry;
But give to me the snoring breeze and white waves heaving high;
And white waves heaving high, my lads, the good ship tight and free—
The world of waters is our home, and merry men are we."

The author of that song was Allan Cunningham, a native of Dumfriesshire, who lived by journalism in London and, from all I can read of his biography, never even saw a more agitated piece of water than the Solway Firth. Now let us turn to Alcæus, a poet who flourished just at the end of this glorious age of colonization, an islander, too, from Lesbos.

"I cannot understand" (he writes) "the discordant state of the winds; for one wave rolls from this side, and another from that side; and we are carried about in the middle of it all with the black ship."

Thus Alcæus; from the point of view of conscious heroism he is not much advance on Hesiod, two hundred years earlier, who frankly admitted that he had spent all his life in Bœotia, except once when he went across to Eubœa, which is about the same distance as from Hampshire to the Isle of Wight. No, love of the sea does not reflect itself, even now, in Greek literature; and I fancy these migrations were dictated more by sheer necessity—the need for getting rid of surplus population—than by any desire of adventure for its own sake.

Yet this age of adventure has left its mark on Greek literature. Its spirit still breathes in the record of Herodotus, though at the time of which he wrote the force of the movement was already spent. You may read there, how Xerxes when he came to the Hellespont and bridged it, found the Greek ships still passing through, with their cargoes of corn from Russia bound for the Greek mainland—like cheeky schoolboys, one fancies, pretending not to notice that they are observed by the eye of a hostile authority. And there is that splendid scene at the Ionian congress, when Cyrus had already reduced the Greeks of the Asiatic coast to subjection, and the islanders were for surrendering themselves too; it was then that Bias of Priene, one of the seven wise men of Greece, proposed a wholesale emigration of all the Ionian colonists to Sardinia, where they could make a fresh start without threats of Persian interference. And indeed there was one city which refused slavery. The citizens of Phocæa were among the most adventurous of the Greeks; they had sailed as far as Tartessus, and made a treaty of alliance with a Spanish chieftain there. Leaving their city to the Persians, they sank a lump of lead in the harbour, and took a common vow never to return there until the lump of lead rose to the surface; and so they set out over the high seas in search of a new home. They went to Chios, and offered to buy the islands of Œnussæ from them; the Chians refused. So they went back to Phocæa, massacred the Persian garrison, and set sail for the west. They landed in Corsica, and set up their temples there; for occupation, they raided their barbarian neighbours, until the Etruscans and Carthaginians sent out a punitive expedition. There

was a sea-battle, in which the Phoceans were victorious, but lost most of their ships; and thinking Corsica too hot to hold them, removed to the southern coast of Italy, where at last they made a permanent foundation, the city of Velia. Remember that these men travelled with their wives and children, and the images of their gods; it was the migration of a people.

The spirit of such enterprises has been caught up unexpectedly by the poet of another tongue. When you read the third book of Virgil's Æneid, you must not be tempted to think of the Trojans as merely cruising about in a dozen small ships, like the companions of Odysseus. It was the whole remaining population of Troy that took ship with Æneas; "they came from all sides," we are told, "prepared alike with courage and with provision for the journey, ready to go into any land whither I might lead them." They, like the Phoceans, had their false starts; in Thrace, in Crete, in Carthage; at last, like the Phoceans, they settled in Italy, but with more glorious auspices, for the city they founded there was the direct ancestor of Rome. And I think that in recalling the spirit of those earlier days Virgil was almost consciously escaping from the present; from the over-civilized, jaded atmosphere of the early empire. Horace, at least, sought that inspiration; he has described, in words which have become hackneyed, the speech of Teucer when exiled by his father from Salamis:—

> Where fortune bears us, than my sire more kind,
> There let us go, my own, my gallant crew.
> 'Tis Teucer leads, 'tis Teucer breathes the wind;
> No more despair, Apollo's word is true.
> Another Salamis in kindlier air
> Shall yet arise. Hearts, that have borne with me
> Worse buffets, drown to-day in wine your care;
> To-morrow we recross the wide, wide sea.

And elsewhere, recalling the example of the Phoceans, he has appealed to his fellow-countrymen to leave behind them the shores of Italy, drenched in all the blood of the Civil Wars, and sail out into the Atlantic to found a new home in the mythical lands of the sunset:—

What better counsel in our sad debate
Than the grim oath of that Phocean state?
Their fields they left, their homes and temples bare,
For boars and ravening wolves a welcome lair.
Whither the main-sheet tugs across the foam,
The sport of East and Southern gales we'll roam;
For us, the sundering ocean of the West,
Its happy fields, and islands of the blest,
Where, year by year, the untilled harvests shine,
And, without pruning, burgeons still the vine—

There is something in the atmosphere of those early sea-adventures that touches the imagination of the poet in the stifled air of cities. And in our own unhappier age there are few appeals that strike the mind with a cleaner sense of regeneration—Scott Holland pointed it out many years back—than Mr. Yeats' early poem, "I will arise, and go now, and go to Inisfree." "The sea," says Euripides' Iphigenia, "washes away all evil among mankind."

But I am wandering from my theme. After the age of sea-adventure comes the age of the great sea battles, beginning with the defeat of the Persians at Salamis in 480, and ending with the capture of the Athenian fleet by the Spartans at Ægospotami in 405. That period, so full of glory and of tragedy, is fully documented not only in the literature of Greece but in the literature of the world, and needs, therefore, the less recalling to memory. Salamis, with the Greek fleet of little more than 300 sail facing the enormous navies of Persia, catches one's breath in anticipation of the issue as I think no other battle does, whether you follow it in the detailed narration of Herodotus or in the vaguer poetical form which it assumes in the Persæ of Æschylus. "And anon, at the word of command, they smote the surging brine with the plash of their foaming oars, and all became swiftly plain to the enemy's sight. First in good array the right wing led in order, and then the whole fleet followed out; and as it went you might hear a great cry, O sons of the Greeks, go forth; set free your country, set free your children and wives, and the temples of your fathers' gods, and the tombs of those that went before; for all these now you go to do battle." After Salamis the easy victories, the harassing of the Persian

retreat, the re-establishment of Greek influence on the Ægean seaboard. Then the confederacy of the whole Greek race, with its treasury at Delos; then the fatal influence of Athens, turning a confederacy of free states into an empire dependent on one naval power; those Attic ships, that once had vindicated the freedom of the world, now coasting round from harbour to harbour, dunning the sulky tributaries for their arrears of pay. And so the greatness of Athens rises on the ruins of Greek freedom, till at last the wrongs of little Megara force the hand of the Spartans, and Greece splits into two camps, for the great war whose history is the epic of Thucydides.

I think you can say that there is a sea-breeze blowing through every page of Thucydides' history. By preference, I suspect he was a landsman; he does not seem as fond of his occasional nautical technicality as Xenophon, or as St. Luke. But from the first you are conscious that this is a contest which will have to be decided by sea-power; and when, at the end of the truce, the Athenians refuse to give back the ships which have conditionally surrendered themselves after the blockade at Pylos, you feel, angrily, that they have won the war by a trick. But we are still only at the beginning; the climax of the war is only reached when Athens sends out her expedition to Sicily, by way of overawing the Greeks there into joining her alliance.

No armament, we are told, so magnificent and costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power; and the description of its setting out is worthy of the occasion:—"Early in the morning of the day appointed for their departure, the Athenian forces and such of their allies as had already joined them went down to the Piræus and began to man the ships. . . . The citizens came to take farewell, one of an acquaintance, another of a kinsman, another of a son, and as they passed along were full of hope and full of tears; hope of conquering Sicily, tears because they doubted whether they would ever see their friends again. . . . When the ships were manned, and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail

offered up the customary prayers; these were recited, not in each ship separately, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both the officers and the troops, mingling wine in bowls, made libations from vessels of gold and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews raised the pæan and, when the libations were completed, put out to sea."

So it passes out of our sight, the ships racing as far as Ægina, and turns at last westwards, the greatest expedition ever sent out from Athens. Through all its early successes, the shadow of its final defeat hangs over it, until that last great battle in the harbour of Syracuse, when the Athenian army lining the cliffs saw its fleet routed by the Syracusans and their allies, and knew that all hope of return to Greece was cut off.

The last chance of the Athenians lay in their ships, and their anxiety was dreadful. The fortune of the battle varied, and it was not possible that the spectators on the shore should all receive the same impression of it. Being quite close and having different points of view, they would some of them see their own ships victorious; their courage would then revive, and they would earnestly call upon the gods not to take from them their hope of deliverance. But others, who saw their ships worsted, cried and shrieked aloud, and were by the sight alone more utterly unnerved than the defeated combatants themselves. Others again, who had fixed their gaze on some part of the struggle which was undecided, were in a state of excitement still more terrible; they kept swaying their bodies to and fro in an agony of hope and fear as the stubborn conflict went on and on; for at every instant they were all but saved or all but lost. At length the Syracusans and their allies put the Athenians to flight. . . .

The army was left to die in a hopeless battle, or to meet with life-long slavery in the stone-quarries of the island. So ended the Sicilian expedition.

The war still lasted another nine years; and the rally of the Athenians after a quite unparalleled disaster is one of the most remarkable achievements in history. The operations have now taken on a curious character. The war is almost exclusively a naval war, and the seat of it is almost exclusively Ionian; it is confined to the Asiatic coast and the Sea of Marmora. What had happened was

that the loyalty of the maritime cities to the short-lived "empire" of Athens had been rudely shaken by the Sicilian disaster; most of them were ripe for revolt, and meanwhile the Spartans had been learning by experience, and were beginning to understand the importance of challenging the Athenians on the unfamiliar element. Accordingly, Peloponnesian fleets sail up and down inciting the subject-allies of Athens to revolt; Athenian fleets sail up and down the same waters suppressing revolt where it has occurred, strengthening loyalty where it remains, and, above all, calling in the overdue arrears of tribute. There are comparatively few naval engagements; the fleets seem to avoid one another where it is possible. On the whole, you may think of it as an inglorious series of smash-and-grab raids; yet there are heroic moments. Conon is one of the great Athenian admirals; and there is something of the seventeenth century sea-dog touch about his opponent Callicratidas, who boasts that he will stop him "making a mistress of the sea." And throughout the story you find a human relief in the strange career of Alcibiades, attaching himself now to one party of combatants, now to the other, yet always finding people to trust him.

In the middle of this period, Thucydides' history comes to an end, and Xenophon takes up the tale. Xenophon has a simplicity of phrase which sometimes makes his effects almost more telling than those of Thucydides. Listen to his description of the astonishing return of Alcibiades from an exile during which he had thrown in his lot recklessly with the enemies of his country:—"He did not disembark at once, for fear of his private enemies; but standing on the deck he looked round for his friends, to make sure that they were present. Then he saw Eurytolemus son of Pisianax, his cousin, and others of his friends and partisans with him; and so he disembarked and went up to the city, with a crowd of followers prepared to protect him against all molestation. . . . He was put in autocratic control in all departments of state, as the one man who could preserve the old predominance of the city." But his triumph is short-lived; he is once more disgraced, and goes off in a private capacity to the Dardanelles. There,

on the northern shore, the Athenian fleet is anchored, with the Spartan Lysander watching their movements from further along the coast; he does not come out to attack them, and the Athenians think he is afraid. Alcibiades pays a visit to the Athenian generals, and points out to them that they are making a mistake by keeping their camp in the open, instead of having their base at a walled city. They tell him to mind his own business; he is only a private citizen now. They continue in their ill-omened encampment at Ægospotami, from which they have to go off every day by land to Sestos, to get provisions. "But Lysander, when this had been going on for four days, told his followers, when they saw the Athenians disembark and disperse themselves about the peninsula . . . to sail back to him, and signal to him by lifting up a shield in the middle of their voyage. They did as they were ordered. And Lysander immediately signalled to his ships to set sail with all speed; and Thorax followed with the land army. Conon (one of the Athenian commanders), seeing the attack, signalled to the ships to rally in full force. But the crews were scattered ashore; some of the ships had only two-thirds of their complement, some one-third, some were altogether unmanned. So Conon and the seven vessels with him, together with the ship Paralus, put out to sea; all the rest Lysander captured off the shore." That is Xenophon's unemotional description of the amazing surprise action which at last brought Athens to her knees.

Curiously, after this the naval arm loses most of its interest for the historian of Greek warfare. The great battles of the fourth century are land battles; the empire of Macedon rose to power as a land empire. And the period of the great Athenian orators, Demosthenes and the rest, brings with it a fourth period of my lecture—you will be glad to hear that it is the last. We meet for the first time, in the private speeches of Demosthenes, a quite fresh sea-atmosphere—that of the ordinary merchant captain going out on a private cruise to the Black Sea or elsewhere, with a cargo for sale or exchange. It is a somewhat inglorious record, for it is a record of the law-courts, and what actually occupies our attention is, naturally enough, the criminal aspect of the matter. We

learn all the dodges by which fraudulent men of business managed, even in those early times, to outwit their creditors and the underwriters.

Here is Phormio, who sails for the Bosphorus, after raising twenty minæ from Chrysippus on the security of his cargo. When he reaches port, he finds his goods are unsaleable, and he has no cargo to put on board for his return journey. So he sends word that he will ship his return cargo on a later boat; then waits till he hears that a boat bound for Athens from the Bosphorus has gone down with most of her crew, whereupon he pretends, and brings witnesses to prove, that this was the boat on which his imaginary cargo had been embarked. Here is Artemon, who on returning to Athens does not bring his ship into port, but conceals her in a bay only used by smugglers and pirates, and then represents her as having gone down in the Black Sea, so that he is not liable to repay the money lent him on the security of the cargo of wine which she carried. Here are Hegestratus and Zenothemis, natives of Marseilles, who over-insure their cargo and then are found by the passengers deliberately trying to scuttle the ship in mid-ocean. Here is Dionysiodorus, who is under contract to bring back a cargo of corn from Egypt to Athens, but, hearing that the price of corn has fallen in the home market, sells his corn in Rhodes, under the pretence that his ship is disabled, and never goes back home to meet his creditors at all.

They are not edifying stories, but they serve to remind us of the background to all this business of colonization and of naval warfare—the economic necessity of importing goods, especially corn, into Greece proper. And they serve to give us some picture, even if it *is* an unedifying one, of real life among the Greeks. But, as I say, I do not think it is really possible to form any notion of what Greek sea-travel was like, for the ordinary passenger. The fact is, I suppose, that the Greeks didn't like it, and, not liking it, left us no account of it, except an occasional allusion to its discomforts. There is Lucian, of course, but Lucian is decidedly A.D.

Another effect of their not liking it is, that you very seldom come across any description of scenery by a Greek

ELEUSIS.
Photo : F. Loston Taylor.

THE MONASTERY, DAPHNE.
Photo: Miss A. Lazarus.

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES, OLYMPIA.
Photo : V. Ellis.

TEMPLE OF ZEUS, OLYMPIA.
Photo : F. Loston Taylor.

author, in which the sea (as seen from the land) figures prominently. There is, of course, the unforgettable *pontiōn te kumatōn anērithmon gelasma* of Æschylus, "the myriad laughter of the sea's waves." But on the whole the sea is to the Greeks a treacherous element, dark, misty, interminable, fishy, tempestuous—anything except beautiful to look at, until you reach Theocritus and the Alexandrian period. It is in Theocritus that you will find Galatea sporting amid the sunlit waves; it is in Theocritus that a shepherd can wish he could sit with his shepherdess in his arms, "looking at our flocks as they graze together, and out over the Sicilian sea."

I have tried, with this collection of familiar incidents, to repeople the coasts through which we are travelling with some echoes, some ghosts, of their former inhabitants. I know that I have failed, but I feel that the failure is inevitable; something has come between us and the old classics which makes their world, try as we will, a dead world to us. In illustration of that idea, may I call up one more famous sea-memory from an author of the first century A.D.—I mean, that mysterious passage in Plutarch's essay on the dying-out of the Oracles? Epitherses, the father of Æmilianus the orator, "said that once in sailing to Italy he embarked on a ship which carried a cargo and a large number of passengers. When it was already evening, near the Echinades islands, the wind sank, and the ship on its course came near Paxæ. Most of the company were awake, and many were still drinking their wine after dinner. Suddenly a voice was heard from the island of Paxæ, crying out, to their astonishment, for Thamus. This Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, unknown by name to most people on board. Twice he kept silence when called, but the third time he answered whoever it was that called him. And this other, raising his voice, said, "When you are at the Palodes, tell them that the Great Pan is dead." . . . Thamus decided, if there was a wind, to sail past taking no notice, but if there was a windless calm at the place in question, to give the message he had heard. When they came opposite the Palodes, there was neither wind nor wave; so Thamus, looking out from the stern towards the land, said, as he had been told, "The Great Pan is

dead." No sooner had his voice died away, than there came a great groan, not of one voice but of many. The company being numerous, the story quickly got about Rome, and Thamus was sent for by the Emperor Tiberius. The Emperor Tiberius—it is not strange that Christian authors should have been prepared to date the incident more accurately. The Great Pan is dead, and the world of which he is the symbol; we can never recapture it. And I knew that when I saw the Hellespont. It did not remind me of the ship Argo, nor of the agony of Troy, nor of Xerxes' bridge, nor of the Spartan victory at Ægospotami. The last, to me, is as legendary as the first. It was peopled for me instead by those who fought there fifteen years ago, and died there fifteen years ago, men of my own country and of my own speech.

MIRAGE.

Pour H.L.

Le dos tourné à Spalato—à son cadre d'hiver,
Je suis l'office du couchant, appuyé sur la lisse;
Et voulant chevaucher les flots sautillants de la mer
Adriatique, à l'horizon, pour boire avec délice

A la coupe enflammée, un trait d'inépuisable éther,
Les yeux déjà ivres d'azur, je me livre aux caprices
Du rêve, et j'attends qu'un miracle au ciel ou en enfer
Me consume le corps d'ultimes joies ou de supplices.

Halte! je sombre! assez! ô Ciel! miracle ou bien mirage?
Un disque rouge-sang surgit de l'écume, surnage,
Et forme avec le vrai soleil, le front ceint de nuages,

Un calice anadyomène au galbe variant
Qui se rallonge . . . .s'équarrit . . . disparaît . . . emportant
Mon rêve unique d'avoir vu le Saint-Graal rutilant.

7 *avril*, 1929. MALCOLM MCLAREN.

ALEXANDRIA.

By the Rev. Canon N. P. Williams, D.D.

A lecture delivered on February 20th, 1930, on the m.v. "Théophile Gautier."

It is one of the most ironical illustrations of the way in which gigantic intellectual power may exist in complete divorce from the capacity to read the signs of the times, that the *Politics* of Aristotle, which assume the *polis* or city-state as known to the classical or Golden Age of Greek history, to be the final product of man's political evolution, should have been written during the twenty years immediately preceding the Battle of Chaeronea, which sounded the knell of the old atomistic organization of Hellas and inaugurated the age of Hellenistic world-empires, swayed by the *Diadochi* or successors of Alexander—the Silver Age of Hellenic achievement and thought which leads, like a bridge, from the age of Pericles, Socrates, and the Greek tragedians, to the age of Augustus and the Roman Empire. In this Hellenistic age the Greek *polis*, with its *boule* and *ecclesia*, did indeed play an important part by disseminating Western and Hellenic culture in Oriental lands from the Orontes to the Indus; but it was a part largely determined and qualified by the differences which mark off the Hellenistic from the classical Hellenic type of *polis*. The latter had been a natural growth, centring in some traditional shrine or representing the coalescence of primitive κώμαι or villages; the Hellenistic city was an artificial product, created out of nothing and imposed upon a previously empty site by the decree of a single ruler or of a highly centralized government, as in our own day, and within our own Empire, the cities of New Delhi and Canberra, the federal capital of Australia, have been created out of nothing. The streets of the older *polis* were often narrow and rambling; the later *polis*, with its broad boulevards and geometrical arrangement of blocks, embodied a scheme of scientific town planning not inferior to that of a modern American city. And, most important difference of all, the older *polis* was a sovereign State, in which every free male citizen was both a soldier and a legislator,

and in consequence possessed immediate political responsibility and power; whilst the later *polis* was a mere municipality, existing within a vast, efficiently administered and bureaucratically controlled empire, in which no pretence of democracy existed. It is not surprising that the cities of this period should seem at first sight to be monuments and symbols of a tired, sophisticated, and disillusioned age in which the freshness, *naïveté*, and creative spontaneity of the classical age of Greek history had given place to a merely critical spirit which produces nothing, and confines itself to analysing, describing and cataloguing what is given it, either in external nature or in the achievements of the past. Nevertheless, a brief survey of the thousand years during which Alexandria was the intellectual metropolis of the Greek and Graeco-Roman worlds will show that the race-spirit can be as fruitfully active in a predominantly critical, grammatical, and scientific epoch, as in one marked by outstanding personalities and imposing achievements—a consideration which may convey some comfort to us who live in a not dissimilar Silver Age, in which the critical and scientific spirit has attained to a dominance hitherto undreamed of, but in which creative personalities are few.

The city of Alexandria in Egypt was founded by the Macedonian conqueror himself, probably in January of the year 331 B.C. It is not, indeed, likely that he foresaw the greatness to which his foundation was destined to climb as a political and intellectual centre. It would seem rather that his only intention was to create a Greek city on the shores of the Mediterranean which would attract to itself the Levantine commerce previously monopolized by Tyre (which he had destroyed in the preceding year) and would so become the emporium of East and West. The Greek colony of Naucratis, which had existed since the seventh century B.C., was too far inland for his purpose; and his keen eye noted the possibilities of a magnificent harbour provided by the long, low island of Pharos, which lay at about a mile's distance from the sandy bar which separates the Mediterranean from the freshwater lagoon known as Lake Mareotis. This island had indeed been known to Homeric

sailors ; according to the Odyssey, it was the spot specially favoured by Proteus for his midday siesta, in company with his flock of sea monsters* ; but no commercial use had been made of the site, and the only human habitations which it bore, at the time when the conqueror of the world visited it, consisted in the Egyptian village of Rhakotis, which bequeathed its name to the native quarter of Alexandria. It is said that Alexander himself traced the boundaries of the new city ; but its design was drawn out by Deinocrates, the chief engineering officer of the royal staff, and the superintendence of its construction was entrusted to Cleomenes of Naucratis, Alexander's finance minister in Egypt. Only a few months after the formal foundation of the city Alexander left Egypt, never to revisit it. The credit for the chief buildings of the city, and in particular for the magnificent foundations designed to subserve the purposes of learning and science, is due not to Alexander but to the first Ptolemy, surnamed Lagos or Soter, who in the great break-up of Alexander's empire which ensued upon his untimely death, and the consequent scramble of his field marshals for fragments of the mighty inheritance, contrived to establish himself as King of Egypt and successor to the Pharaohs, and to his son, the second Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus. The reigns of these two monarchs covered the years between 323 and 246 B.C.

A brief description of ancient Alexandria will not be out of place. Its central and characteristic feature was the Heptastadion, or mole, which, running at right angles to the coast, joined the island of Pharos to the mainland. The ground plan of the site is thus of the shape of a capital letter H lying on its side, the northern or left-hand vertical stroke being the Island of Pharos, the southern or right-hand being the spit of sand on which the main city was built, and the transverse bar being the mole.† Two

* Od. iv., 355 *ff.*

† This mole has, owing to the accumulation of sand against it, now become a broad isthmus, which is covered with buildings ; at the same time the eastern end of Pharos has been worn away by the sea, so that the H is almost unrecognizable in a plan of the modern city.

harbours were thus formed, an eastern, known as the Great Harbour, and a western, known as the Harbour of Eunostos or "happy return." Communication between the two harbours was afforded by two vaulted openings in the mole. On the extreme easterly tip of the island, commanding the entrance to the Great Harbour, stood one of the wonders of the world, the great lighthouse, which is said, though probably with some exaggeration, to have been 400 feet high, and of which the remains survived into the Middle Ages. The island was only inhabited by a garrison and lighthouse keepers; the city proper was confined to the right-hand stroke of the H, which, as we have said, was a sandy bar or *Lido*, lying between the sea and the lagoon. Its site was an oblong, fancifully described by Strabo as being of the shape of a Macedonian chlamys, or riding cloak, some four miles in length by one in breadth. This was cut up into a gridiron-like plan by parallel streets; the most imposing of these was known as ἡ πλατεῖα, "Broad Street," was lined by colonnades, and ran for four miles in a straight line from the Gate of the Moon on the west to the Gate of Canopus on the east. It was intersected at some point, which cannot now be determined, by an equally imposing thoroughfare running from north to south. On the landward side the city was surrounded by walls which, however, possessed no towers. South of these walls there appears to have been a narrow belt of garden land, and then came the spreading waters of the lagoon which, like a vast moat, defended the city from attack on its southern side. The part played by the lagoon, however, in establishing the peace and prosperity of Alexandria was not merely that of a defensive outwork: for across it, and through the network of canals which connected it with the Nile, came a great volume of water-borne commerce which connected the Egyptian port with the distant interior of Africa and even with India and China. To receive this commerce the city possessed a third great harbour, the λιμὴν λιμνᾶιος, or Harbour on the Lake, which, according to Strabo,* was busier and more crowded than either of the

* xvii., 1, 7.

two marine harbours. It is worth noting that the greatness of Alexandria as a commercial centre did not arise from any manufactures of its own, which the restricted character of the site, wedged in between the sea and the lagoon, forbade to flourish. It was rather a distributing centre, a port of trans-shipment, commodities arriving overland by caravan, or at the Lake Harbour by boat, and being dispatched to all parts of the Mediterranean world from the sea harbours. During the Roman period, by far the most important part of the city's commercial activities was the supply of corn to Rome. Egypt was the granary of the Roman Empire, and the great argosies which conveyed its food supply to the imperial capital must have formed one of the sights of Alexandria, as they lay moored to the quays of the harbour of Kibotos. Two of these great ships have been immortalized by authors of widely different character, the *Dioscuri* which, according to the Acts of the Apostles, conveyed St. Paul from Malta to Puteoli,* and the *Isis*, said to have been capable of holding enough wheat to feed the population of Attica for a year, which gave its title to Lucian's dialogue, *The Ship*.

The public spirit or the ostentation of the Ptolemies, and later of the Cæsars, adorned the city with magnificent architectural monuments. The location of these cannot be exactly determined, inasmuch as the site of the ancient city is covered by a great modern town, so that archaeological research and excavation are impossible, except in the neighbourhood of the Serapeium, where vast underground vaults, which may have formed part of the substructure of the Temple, have been unearthed. Nevertheless, the pages of Strabo, who visited the city in 24 B.C., give us an approximate idea of the position of the chief buildings, relatively to each other. A tourist, beginning at the east end of the city and walking westwards, would note in the first instance the royal palace, the more domestic parts of which stood upon the promontory of Lochias, which jutted out towards Pharos, at the south-eastern angle of the Great Harbour. The Ptolemaic kings and

* Acts xxviii. 11-13.

their successors the Roman Prefects thus had the advantage of a residence surrounded on three sides by water, and only exposed on the narrow fourth side to the possibility of attacks by the mob. Running westwards from the palace along the quay of the Great Harbour was a complex of vast buildings intimately connected with the royal residence, government offices and the like, of which the most interesting to us would be the Museum or royal College, of which we shall have more to say presently, and the great library. It is said, though the statement is doubtless an exaggeration, that the Palace and its dependent buildings occupied one-third of the whole area of the city. Still further westwards along the quay lay the theatre; and then in Roman times the visitor would come to the Timonium, a marine villa built on a pier jutting out into the Great Harbour, the construction of Mark Antony, and the Caesareum, or temple of the divinity of the Emperors, erected after the annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire, and converted, with the triumph of Christianity, into the Patriarchal Church or Cathedral of Alexandria. In front of this stood the two great obelisks, of which one is familiar to us as Cleopatra's Needle on the London Embankment: the splendour of the building wrung an unwilling tribute from the Jew Philo.* The Naval Arsenal, the Temple of Poseidon, and the Emporium or Exchange filled in the circle of great buildings which lined the esplanade. The effect which the panorama of the harbour must have produced upon one who saw it for the first time has been powerfully depicted by Charles Kingsley in his sketch of the emotions experienced at the sight by the youthful Philammon: "The overwhelming vastness, multiplicity and magnificence of the whole scene; the range of buildings such as mother earth never perhaps carried on her lap before or since, the extraordinary variety of form—the pure Doric and Ionic of the earlier Ptolemies, the barbaric and confused gorgeousness of the later Roman, and here and there an imitation of the grand elephantine style of Old Egypt, its gaudy colours relieving, while they deepened,

* *de leg. ad Gaium*, 22.

the effect of its massive and simple outlines; the eternal repose of that great belt of stone contrasting with the restless ripple of the glittering harbour and the busy sails which crowded out into the sea beyond, like white doves taking their flight into boundless space—all dazzled, overpowered, saddened him." It should perhaps be added in passing that Kingsley's descriptions of Alexandria in the time of Hypatia at the beginning of the fifth century, are somewhat anachronistic, inasmuch as the great Library would seem to have been partly in ruins at this date, and we are informed by Synesius that the silting up of the great harbour had already begun; but, understood of a period a couple of centuries earlier, they give a picture of the magnificence of the place and of the many-coloured variety of its life which may well be used to supplement the Baedeker-like descriptions of the more prosaic Strabo.

Turning inwards, at the end of the mole, and crossing the great boulevard which bisected the city longitudinally, the visitor would reach two other venerable and imposing monuments. One was the Mausoleum of Alexander, which contained the mummified body of the conqueror of the world, enshrined in a golden sarcophagus. This precious relic had been captured by the first Ptolemy from Perdiccas, the nominal regent of Alexander's empire after his death, and survived at least well into Roman times. The other was the Serapeium, the most imposing of Alexandria's temples, with which the column, now known as Pompey's Pillar, seems in some way to have been connected. Attached to this vast edifice was the Lesser Library, sometimes spoken of as the daughter of the greater institution which stood near the Museum. The Serapeium stood in the native Egyptian quarter of Rhakotis, which was the westernmost of the three areas inhabited by the three great sections of the population, the Jews' quarter being at the extreme east end of the city, near the Canopic Gate, and the Brucheion or Greek quarter, which included the Palace and its adjacent buildings, lying roughly in the centre.

As the intellectual life of Alexandria was so largely associated with the Museum and the two Libraries, it

will be useful to make some attempt to reconstruct them in imagination. The Museum* was both a temple and a college; it had a clerical head, the Priest of the Muses, who, like all the other members of the foundation, was nominated during the Ptolemaic period by the King and during the Roman period by the Emperor. Strabo tells us that the building included cloisters, an *exedra* or hall, apparently used as a sort of Common Room, and an *oecus* or dining room in which the Fellows of the College took their meals in common; we must therefore, presumably, postulate kitchens and domestic offices. It does not, however, seem likely that the members of the institution resided within its walls, as there was no rule of celibacy, and it would seem that the original object of the Museum was rather research than education, the development of lectures on a large scale only taking place during the Roman period. According to Aelian and Athenaeus, the precincts of the Museum included a menagerie in which rare and curious wild animals were preserved, and a botanical garden.† The achievements of Alexandrine scientists compel us to assume also an anatomical laboratory and an astronomical observatory. The Emperor Claudius added to the building a theatre or auditorium, in which his own Greek compositions, histories of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, were recited on fixed days every year.‡ We may perhaps allow ourselves another quotation from Kingsley, who imagines his heroine's window as overlooking the Museum gardens: "which had echoed for nearly seven hundred years to the wisdom of the Alexandrian sages and poets. School after school, they had all walked and taught and sung there, beneath the spreading planes and chestnuts, figs and palm trees. The place seemed fragrant with all the riches of Greek thought and song, since the days when Ptolemy Philadelphus

* For more elaborate accounts of the Museum, see Parthey, *Das alexandr. Museum* (1838); Weniger (same title) (1875); Couat, *La poésie alexandrine*, c. i., pp. 1-27; Croiset, *Hist. de la litterat. grecque*, v. 13; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenist. Dichtung*, i., 161 *ff.*

† Aelian, *de nat. anim.*, xvii., 3; Athen., v. 196.

‡ Sueton., *Claud.*, 42.

walked there with Euclid and Theocritus, Callimachus and Lycophron." Hypatia's father, Theon the mathematician, was the last member of the Museum whose name is known to us. How the Museum came to an end we do not know; we may surmise that it died of sheer decrepitude, material and mental. It is perhaps a faintly consoling reflection for the representatives of Christian civilization that it probably did not survive to share the fate meted out to the University of Athens in A.D. 529 by the Christian Emperor Justinian.

The two great libraries were both begun by the first Ptolemy and completed, so far as the buildings were concerned, by the second. Their successors vied with the Attalid kings of Pergamum, the other great dynasty of royal *virtuosos*, in collecting manuscripts for the enrichment of their collections; and the methods which they employed were not always gentle or scrupulous. Any manuscript found on an incoming ship was liable to confiscation, and the books so acquired formed a special class in the library known as τὰ ἐκ πλοίων, "Books from the ships." One of the two kings who were styled Ptolemy Euergetes—we do not know which—acquired for the library the manuscript containing the official and standard text of the great Attic tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides by the simple process of borrowing it from the archives of the city of Athens, against a security of fifteen talents, and omitting to return it. By the middle of the first century B.C. it is said that the greater Library, that near the Museum, contained no fewer than 700,000 volumes, and the smaller, that of the Serapeium, 42,800. It was in this latter institution that Tertullian was able to consult the Greek and Latin translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, though it is, unfortunately, impossible to credit the story that the Greek translation of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint was made at the special request of Ptolemy Philadelphus for inclusion in one or other of his collections. The greater Library suffered severely in the "Alexandrine War" of 47 B.C., when Cæsar set the royal fleet on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the Alexandrians, and the flames spread to certain warehouses in the neighbourhood of the arsenal,

in which many books from the library had been stacked for the sake of security. In A.D. 391 the Serapeium was demolished by a Christian mob under the leadership of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and it is to be feared that the lesser Library perished in its destruction. The greater Library survived, though doubtless in an impoverished form, until the capture of Alexandria in A.D. 642 by the Saracens, an event which marks the end of the history of the city as a centre of the ancient culture. The story which attributes its destruction to Moslem fanaticism has been popularised, though not endorsed, by Gibbon : it is said that Amru, the Mahometan general, after the capture of the city, inquired from his sovereign, the Caliph Omar, what was to be done with the contents of the Library, and received the reply, "If the books contradict the teachings of the Koran they are pernicious, but if they agree with it they are superfluous ; let them therefore in any case be destroyed," and it is added that the contents of the Library supplied the 4,000 baths of Alexandria with fuel for six months. This story is, however, now generally discredited, owing to the silence of contemporary annalists ; and those English schoolboys who view with satisfaction the non-existence of many classical works of Greek literature are not entitled to look upon the Caliph Omar as their benefactor.

This account of the city may be completed by a sketch of the character of its population, which in the Augustan Age numbered 300,000 freemen, with an immense body of slaves. Although Alexander meant it to be predominantly Greek in its character and constitution, it would seem that, in accordance with his general scheme of producing a fusion of West and East in his new Empire, he contemplated from the first that its inhabitants would include Jews and native Egyptians as well as Greeks. The court, the garrison, and the civil service doubtless provided the nucleus of the Greek or Macedonian population, who alone possessed the privileges of citizenship in their own right. They were organized in tribes, demes, and phratries on the traditional Hellenic model, and possessed a Senate or *boule* which, however, can never have had much real power. They seem to have possessed

little of the characteristic Greek qualities of sanity and balance, which were inculcated by the maxim μήδεν ἄγαν; the Alexandrine mob was, in Roman days, one of the most unruly in the Empire, and in the third century A.D. the Christian Father Clement of Alexandria comments scathingly upon the degree of hysterical excitement to which his auditors allowed themselves to be worked up in the theatre; music, in particular, appears to have exercised an almost intoxicating influence upon them. The Hellenic stock, however, found great difficulty in maintaining itself in racial purity as against the increase of the native Egyptian population, and during the last few centuries of the city's pre-Mahometan history it tended to relapse more and more from its position as a Greek city into that of a purely Egyptian, or as we should say, Coptic town. This increase of the Coptic element, even as early as 40 B.C., finds a vivid illustration in the story related by Diodorus Siculus*, who was himself an eye witness of the fact, of the Roman who accidentally killed a cat, a sacred animal in the eyes of the native population, and was immediately lynched by the Egyptian mob. Nevertheless, during the whole of the period which we are considering, the Coptic population possessed no civil rights. This fact is doubtless in part responsible for the intensity of nationalist and anti-imperialistic feeling which smouldered in Egypt beneath the surface of Roman order and organization, and during the decline of the Eastern Empire expressed itself, as nationalist feeling will, in the form of a religious revolt, the disastrous Monophysite schism; which in its turn so fatally weakened the forces of Christianity and civilization, that in the seventh century of our era Islam was able to overrun the country like a flood, and the Egyptian problem, with which our statesmen are still concerned, was created, or rather intensified. So mysteriously, in the process of human history, does the past live on in the present, and the sin of the fathers find its Nemesis in the perplexities of the children.

The politically outcast position of the Coptic population

* i., 14.

must have been rendered all the more galling to them by the remarkable privileges enjoyed by the Jews. The Jewish people had never wholeheartedly accepted the fact of the Exodus. Even in the wilderness their hearts turned back longingly to the fleshpots of Egypt, and from the eighth century B.C. onwards the feet of a great many of them turned back also, despite the protests of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine show that a Jewish temple existed there before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and the fact that Palestine during the third century was a province of the Ptolemaic Empire would naturally encourage the tendency of the Israelites to drift back into the house of their previous bondage, even apart from the special favours shown to them by Alexander and Ptolemy Soter. In the time of Philo the Jewish population of Egypt numbered a million, of whom the largest single body must have lived in Alexandria. The Jewish quarter included two of the five wards into which the city was divided, and there were many synagogues and individual Jewish habitations scattered throughout the other three wards. Not merely did the Jews possess equal civic rights with the Macedonian section of the population, but they were also organized to a certain extent, as an independent community, enjoying a measure of local autonomy under an ethnarch, or Jewish Lord Mayor, and a *gerousia* or Sanhedrin. Doubtless as the result of this favoured position many of the Jews were rich and powerful, associating on equal terms with the Greek aristocracy, and occupying high positions in the Ptolemaic Government. Those who were thus brought into intimate contact with Hellenic life and thought were naturally exposed to the danger of apostasy from the faith of their fathers, and it is probable that the ungodly rulers denounced in the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon were such highly placed apostates. A more permanently valuable result of the juxtaposition of Judaism and Hellenism is to be found in the Jewish-Alexandrine philosphy, which, as I shall presently suggest, has had a far-reaching influence upon the structure of Christian theology.

Of history in the political sense the city had little or

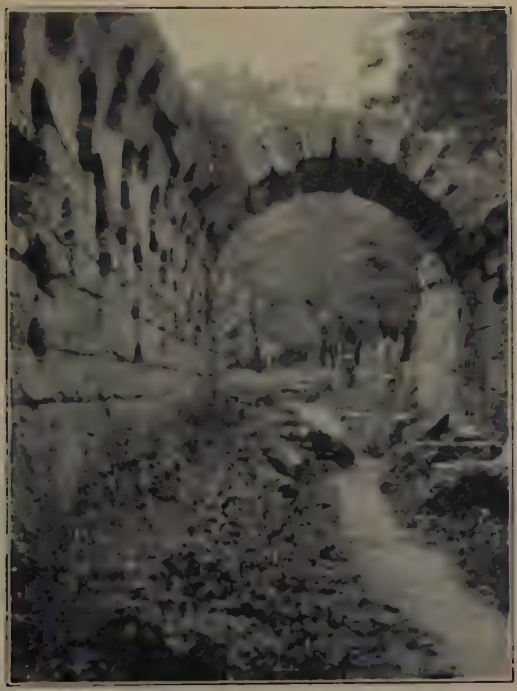
none, if we consider it in abstraction from the Ptolemaic Empire, of which it was the first city, and the Roman, of which it was the second, after Rome itself. We may briefly catalogue, without staying to discuss, the few outstanding events in the local history of the city, between its foundation by Alexander and its capture by the Saracens. These were: the first great anti-Jewish *pogrom* organized by Ptolemy Physcon, probably about 130 B.C., which is narrated, with many legendary embellishments, by Josephus and the Third Book of Maccabees. Cæsar's descent upon Egypt in pursuit of his fallen rival Pompey produced the Alexandrine War of 47 B.C. Mark Antony, to his cost, followed his master's example in the latter regard, and after the disaster at Actium escaped with his mistress, the last Greek monarch of Egypt, from Octavian's power by self-inflicted death. The new conqueror abolished the Senate of Alexandria, which, however, was restored by Septimius Severus. Another *pogrom* took place under the Governor Flaccus, which called forth Philo's treatise *de legatione ad Gaium*. A kind of Nemesis may be deemed to have come upon the non-Jewish population in A.D. 215, when the Emperor Caracalla, being annoyed on the occasion of his visit to the city by lampoons directed against himself, ordered a general massacre of all males of military age. These events, however, in so far as they are of merely local, are also of merely superficial interest. The real history of Alexandria is concerned with its achievements in the realms of literature, knowledge and thought. It is a curious and significant fact that the spiritual history of Alexandria falls into two well-defined periods, corresponding exactly to the two phases of its political allegiance, the Ptolemaic and the Roman. In the former the achievements of Alexandria have to do with poetry, scholarship and natural science. In the latter they are concerned with the deepest problems of theology and philosophy. Save for the persistence of the scientific and mathematical tradition, there is curiously little in common between the Alexandrinisms of these two epochs, the watershed between which is marked by the battle of Actium.

We proceed briefly to review their distinctive characteristics and outstanding personalities in order.

The poetry of Alexandria* derives those characteristics which distinguish it from the mighty works of the classical age, by the fact that, whereas they were the spontaneous creations of the Greek genius living in close contact with nature and under conditions of political freedom, Alexandrine literature was written by University dons, living in the heart of a great city, and dependent for their incomes on an autocratic government. For tame scholars in the pay of the State, the safest mode of self-expression is to be found in minute and laborious research, historical, critical and textual. Hence, Alexandrine poetry tended to be predominantly learned: in the common phrase, it smelt of the lamp. The Hellenistic poet had nothing in common with the Homeric bard or minstrel; he addressed, not a gathering of free warriors, but a select circle of connoisseurs. Indeed, as a general rule, he was not primarily a poet at all, but rather a historian, a grammarian or a scientist who employed metrical form for the purpose of popularizing his discoveries, or parading his learning. Hence, one of the characteristic forms of Alexandrine poetry is the epic, historical or didactic, written in a consciously archaic diction, which produces much the same impression as "Wardour Street English" upon the mind. Of the former type, a good illustration is the *Cassandra* of Lycophron, a prophecy placed in the mouth of its eponymous heroine, in which the conquests of Alexander the Great are alluded to, and of which the erudition is only equalled by the obscurity and dullness; another is the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, which, however, contains occasional oases of beauty in the dreary desert of its turgid rhetoric. As examples of the didactic epic may be quoted the Αἴτια of Callimachus, which appears to have been a treatise on comparative mythology, and the epics on "Snakebites" and on "Antidotes" composed by Nicander. We may think such pedestrian

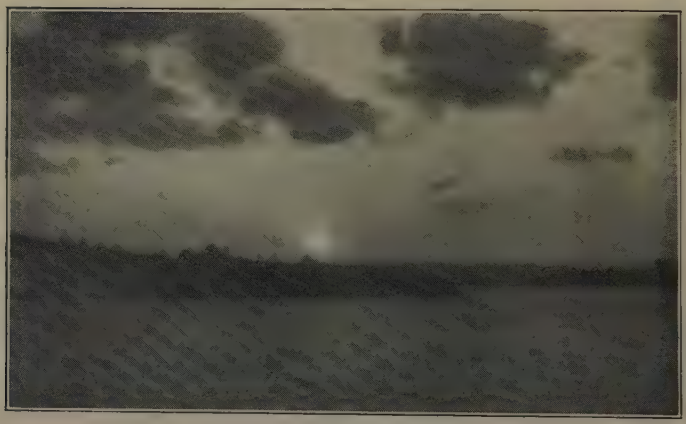
* This section deals exclusively with the poets of Alexandria, and does not mention other Hellenistic poets who had no special connection with the city.

SCULPTURE FROM PEDIMENT OF TEMPLE, OLYMPIA.
Photo : G. ARNALL.



ENTRANCE TO STADIUM, OLYMPIA.
Photo : J. F. ROXBURGH.

A VIEW IN RHODES.
Photo : A. R. Butler.



SUNSET AT CONSTANTINOPLE.
Photo : V. E. Cotton.

works hardly worthy of the name of poetry at all; but it may at least be counted to the didactic poets of Alexandria for righteousness that they produced a literary form which was destined to find a splendid expression in the mighty epic of Lucretius *de rerum natura*, and has more recently been revived in our own Poet Laureate's "Testament of Beauty," a work which is thoroughly Alexandrine in its learning and rich allusiveness, but Attic in its spontaneous grace and power. The characteristic embodiment of the Alexandrine qualities of minute technical correctness and lapidary polish is the epigram, a literary form which naturally flourishes in the atmosphere of Courts. Apart from the Alexandrine epigrammatists whose works have been preserved in the Anthology,* the only two poets of this age and place who are really worth reading for their own sakes, and in whom we come in contact with the freshness of creative power, are Theocritus and the recently discovered Herodas or Herondas. The former is the father of pastoral poetry, and his nymphs and shepherds are redolent of the Sicilian lawn and woodland, unlike the Dresden-china-like figures which appear in the works of his degenerate successors, though the idyll which appeals most directly to modern readers is the famous *Adoniazusae*, which contains a vivid picture of the crowded and bustling life of Alexandria. The *Mimes* of Herondas, which we only know from a single papyrus unearthed in 1897, are short comic dialogues, cameos of common life, executed with a realism which occasionally becomes Rabelaisian grossness.

Time does not allow us to describe at length the laborious, critical, grammatical and scientific activities of which Alexandrine poetry was very largely the expression. We must content ourselves with the briefest of allusions to the growth of the science of textual criticism, associated chiefly with the name of Aristarchus, who flourished about 155 B.C., and drew up a critical recension of the text of Homer which removed many of the errors of the previously existing Homeric vulgate, and still forms the basis of our

* For information with regard to these, see J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, 3rd edn., pp. 310-323.

present text. This scholar and his master, Aristophanes of Byzantium, between them constructed a curious product of the critical genius, the celebrated Alexandrine canon of classical authors, which was meant to constitute an authoritative list of writers of reliable taste, and seems to form a singular parallel in the secular sphere to the Septuagintal canon of Israelitish sacred writings, which was about the same time taking shape in the Jewish community of Alexandria. The names of Dionysius the Thracian, the author of the first Greek grammar, which is still extant, and of Didymus the Scholiast, who is said to have produced the prodigious number of 4,000 books, can only receive a bare mention. It is easy to despise the laborious and uncreative work, appropriate to the staff of a great library, of cataloguing, criticizing and commenting; but it is due to the scholars of Alexandria that we possess the great works of Greek antiquity in a reasonably pure and intelligible form; and the wild vagaries of what is known as the "Western Text" of the New Testament may serve to show us the state in which the sacred books of Christianity would have descended to us, had not the keen critical genius of pagan Alexandria worked out the principles which were to determine the text of the great uncial manuscripts, ℵ and B, which are now our chief authorities. A similar encomium is due to the scientists and mathematicians of Alexandria (though the study of these disciplines was not by any means confined to the Egyptian metropolis), amongst whom must be mentioned the great names of Euclid, systematizer of geometry, of Apollonius of Perga, the practical founder of the study of conic sections, of Herophilus and Erasistratus the anatomists. The spirit of the age was fitly typified by Eratosthenes, head of the Great Library in the latter part of the third century B.C., who wrote on every conceivable subject, scientific and literary, and performed the feat of calculating the circumference of the earth, which he estimated at 34,000 miles, only 9,000 miles out. He was known by two significant nicknames, that of "Pentathlos" or "All-round sportsman," a compliment to his encyclopædic erudition, and that of "Beta," a sarcastic allusion to the fact that he occupied the second

place of eminence in all branches of study, but the first in none.

With the annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire we pass from an age of laborious mediocrity to an age of tumultuous intellectual power which has deeply affected the thought, especially the religious thought, of the modern world. The beginnings of this new and vital Alexandrinism are to be found amongst that Jewish community which numbered perhaps two-fifths of the total population of Alexandria ; and they may be said to run back into the age of the earlier Ptolemies because, although it is convenient to cut up history into " epochs," we must never lose sight of the fact that human affairs constitute one continuous process, and that we must allow for a certain overlapping in our periods, the roots of the later stretching back into the earlier. The Jews of Alexandria, as we have already pointed out, included many families of high social status and considerable wealth, whose members were in a position to avail themselves of the intellectual benefits provided by the Museum, the Library, and the philosophical and scholarly atmosphere which these institutions diffused around them ; and a class of educated and Hellenistic Jews grew up who were concerned to " modernize " the traditional faith of Israel, that is, by expressing it in categories drawn from the best thought and knowledge of their time to commend its reasonableness both to their pagan neighbours and to themselves. Alexandria, therefore, formed what may be deemed a providentially arranged laboratory in which the elemental forces of Hebrew religion might fuse themselves with the analytic and intellectualistic genius of Hellas. The first step in this process, which has had such incalculably important effects upon the history of Christianity is to be found in the gradual production of the " Septuagint," or Greek translation of the Books of the Old Testament. The traditional story of the genesis of this, the first Greek Bible, which is found in the so-called Epistle of Aristeas, relates that Ptolemy Philadelphus, desiring to replenish his library with the most interesting books of all nations, sent an embassy to Eleazar, the high priest of Jerusalem, to ask that Jewish divines might be sent to him, for the

purpose of supplying him with a Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures. Seventy-two elders were accordingly sent to Alexandria, who were honourably entertained by the Greek king, and in a comparatively brief space of time produced the Septuagint (so-called from the number of its translators) more or less as we now have it. A later legend adds that the seventy-two translators were shut up in separate cells, each producing his own version of the whole Old Testament independently of the rest; but that nevertheless, it was found that, by divine inspiration, the seventy-two versions were exactly identical in every word. The whole story is, of course, purely legendary, and it seems clear that the production of the Septuagint lasted over a period of at least two centuries, the Law and the Prophets being translated first and the *Kethubim* or Hagiographa last. The prologue to the Book of Ecclesiasticus seems to complain of the inaccuracy with which the translation had been carried out. "For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue"; and it is true that the Septuagint not merely represents a text differing widely from the present Massoretic Hebrew, but abounds with sheer mistranslations. Nevertheless, its appearance was an event of the greatest moment in the religious history of mankind, for it provided the means whereby the unique religious achievements of the Hebrew people could be communicated and rendered intelligible to the peoples of Europe. In other words, it contained the possibility of Christianity as we know it. The Greek Bible thus became the Bible of the Jewish Dispersion in Europe. Most of St. Paul's Old Testament quotations are drawn from it and it was brought into the Christian Church as a matter of course, and without any premeditation by the Hellenistic Jews, proselytes and "God-fearers," who formed the main bulk of St. Paul's converts. So that for the first four centuries of Christianity it may be said that the Septuagint was the Old Testament of the Christian Church, a position which it still occupies in the oldest of Christian bodies, the Orthodox Church of the East. Hence also is derived the fact that the Old Testament as recognized by the two most numerous of Christian bodies, the

Roman and the Eastern Churches, includes what we know as the "Apocrypha," which represents the excess of the longer Septuagintal or Alexandrine canon over the shorter Palestinian canon which was that recognized by the Reformers.

Of these books, which according to the sixth Anglican Article still deserve to be read "for example of life and instruction of manners," the only one of specifically Alexandrine authorship is the Book of Wisdom, written just before or just after the Roman annexation. It is this Jewish book which strikes the keynote of the long intellectual development which must now be briefly sketched. There can be little doubt that the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon was written as a direct counterblast to the book of *Qoheleth* or Ecclesiastes, the Epicurean pessimism of which was naturally congenial to those apostate Jews who had attained to wealth and power in the Egyptian State. To this the author of Wisdom opposes an exalted type of Platonism, which, as against the gloomy annihilationism of *Qoheleth*, affirms the immortality of the soul, even coupling with it the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence and the determination of the soul's lot in this life by its conduct in a previous existence.* To the hedonistic egoism inculcated by the earlier writer, he opposes the cult of Wisdom, which for the Jew meant in the first instance practical shrewdness and a thorough knowledge of the Law. But for pseudo-Solomon, as for the authors of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom is much more than a quality possessed by God and to be desired by man; the Divine Wisdom appears in this literature as a distinct hypostasis or substantive being, which is sometimes personified as the daughter of God, sitting by His side on His throne, and acting as His vice-gerent in the governance of the universe and the providential guidance of human history. This curious conception, in regard to which it is almost impossible to determine whether it is meant to be a poetical metaphor, or a serious theological concept, was generated by the desire to bridge over the gulf between God and the world, a gulf which had been created by

* Wisd. viii. 20.

the tendency of post-exilic Jewish thought to emphasize the solitariness, remoteness and transcendence of the Deity. During the years immediately following the return from exile, Palestinian Judaism had sought to find a chain of intermediaries which might connect the Creator with His universe in the idea of an angelic hierarchy, which it had borrowed from the religion of Zoroaster; but its contact with Greek thought in the intellectual environment of Alexandria naturally disposed the Judaism of the Dispersion to turn for help to that great philosophical tradition which on a purely human and secular basis was engaged in the same enterprise, namely, that of connecting the Absolute with the Relative, the One with the Many, the unchanging and eternal with the flux of ephemeral existence. From a moment which may be roughly dated as that of the publication of the Book of Wisdom, the intellectual history of Alexandria is chiefly and characteristically associated with the Platonic tradition, which fused itself in turn with Judaism, with orthodox Christianity, with the congeries of Oriental cults which under its influence gave birth to Egyptian Gnosticism, and with the traditional paganism of Greece in its last transitory phase of revival before the final triumph of Christianity. It would be an impertinence for me to deliver an extended discourse upon the history of Alexandrine Platonism in the presence of scholars who have made a lifelong and specialized study of the subject, and such a discourse might well prove tedious to the rest of my audience; but it will, I hope, be permissible and appropriate to conclude this lecture by a brief sketch of the various phases of it which I have just mentioned, a sketch which will not concern itself with philosophic subtleties and will confine itself to indicating the broad general bearing of Alexandrine thought upon the great perennial questions of religion and life.

It was said just now that the rise of Platonism at Alexandria may be deemed to begin with the date of the publication of the Book of Wisdom. This statement is, of course, merely meant to indicate a chronological landmark, and does not mean that the Jews were responsible for introducing this philosophy into a great University

town. The academic circles which found their centre in the Museum held the Jews in utter contempt, and the relations between Jewish and Hellenic Platonism at Alexandria were those of parallel development, not of cause and effect. Nevertheless the first and in some ways fundamentally the most important manifestation of Alexandrine Platonism is to be found in the works of Philo, the Jewish philosopher and theologian. Philo was born somewhere about 20 B.C. and was elderly at the time of his embassy to Caligula in A.D. 41 ; he may therefore be described as a senior contemporary of St. Paul. He was a member of a well-to-do Jewish family, and lived the scholar's life of quiet retirement until the *pogroms* of Caligula's brief reign forced him into public affairs. Like other Alexandrine Platonists he was subject to mystical trances, in which he seemed to himself to be inspired. His philosophy was a motley product of unrestrained eclecticism, being compiled from Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, Hellenic and Palestinian Judaism. The fundamental thought is Platonic, namely, a sharp dualism between God and the world. God is pure spirit, absolutely devoid of qualities. Nothing can be predicated of Him with truth ; we can only say that He is, not what He is. " He who thinks that God possesses any quality," so Philo says, " wrongs himself, not God." He is changeless and timeless. Over against this transcendent super-essential Deity stands Matter, eternal like God, but in perpetual opposition to Him, and essentially evil, " lifeless, erroneous, divisible, unequal." It appeared to Philo impossible to bring perfect Being into immediate contact with the sphere of becoming, of birth and corruption, and he therefore postulates a hierarchy of Powers emanating from God, impersonal effluences which appear to represent a combination of the Platonic Forms with the life-forces of Stoic biology. Amongst these Powers, that one which is nearest to God, and is the most perfect expression of His being, stands out as supreme, and as being in a sense the sum or totality of all the other Forms, Ideas or Powers. To describe this supreme Power Philo has borrowed a term from Heraclitus and the Stoics, the term *Logos*, by which he meant in the first instance the

cosmic reason or rational law inherent in things. As, however, the Greek word Logos means both reason and word, Philo was able to identify this impersonal, philosophic conception with the *Memra* or personified "Word" of Jehovah, who in Rabbinical thought acted as His vicegerent in the governance of human history. So, somewhere, in the Jewish quarter of Alexandria, was shaped that great conception of the Word of God, which was ultimately adopted by St. Paul and St. John for the purpose of resolving the apparent contradiction between the divine worship paid by the Christian Church to its Founder and the austere monotheism which it had inherited from its Jewish mother. Philo's Logos would seem to have been impersonal; but that did not prevent the Christian Church from applying the conception to an historical individual, and formulating its faith in the sublime affirmation that "the Logos was made Flesh"—an affirmation which would have been blasphemy to Philo, because for him "flesh" belonged to the material world, and was therefore an evil thing with which the divine Logos could have no point of contact.

It was in Alexandria, therefore, that the foundation stone of Christian theology was rough-hewn by a pre-Christian thinker in readiness for its use by the great architects of orthodox Christian theology, very much as the stones of the temple were prepared by David before his death to be subsequently laid in place by Solomon. It is not surprising that the ecclesiastical history of Alexandria should have been largely concerned with theology. Nothing is certainly known of the introduction of Christianity into Alexandria. Tradition, of which the earliest representative is Eusebius,* attributes this to St. Mark, the Evangelist. The question is at present an open one. There is no proof that Mark was the Apostle of Egypt, but equally there is no proof that he was not. It is difficult to fit an Alexandrian mission into the framework of the Evangelist's life as given in the New Testament; but, on the other hand, if Egypt or the Delta did represent his sphere of influence we should have a satisfactory

* H.E., ii. 16, 24.

explanation of the singular fact that St. Paul, whilst priding himself on having preached the Gospel all round the eastern Mediterranean, "from Jerusalem in a circle even unto Illyricum,"* preserves a remarkable silence about the southern shores of the Levant, Egypt and Cyrene, and appears to have taken no interest in these countries. Both the existing Patriarchs of Alexandria, Orthodox Greek and Coptic,† claim to be the successors of St. Mark; the latter is in possession of what purports to be the Evangelist's arm, the rest of his relics having been stolen by Venetian merchants in the year A.D. 829, and now reposing in the celebrated Church of St. Mark at Venice. It is, however, strange that Clement and Origen contain no allusion to any connection of the Church at Alexandria with St. Mark; though it would be equally strange that the tradition should have arisen after the death of Origen and established itself with such rapidity as to convince Eusebius, if there had been literally nothing in it. At any rate it is notable that the Church of Alexandria seems to have preserved some very primitive features, such as a certain haziness as to the distinction between the orders of bishop and priest, which present a certain analogy to the very naïve and primitive character of the Marcan Gospel. It would seem that the comparatively late emergence at Alexandria of the Bishop as an isolated monarchical ruler is in part responsible for the growth of the remarkable institution generally known as the "Catechetical School"; under primitive conditions of church life "teaching" was a gift or charisma different from "government," and the two functions were not necessarily exercised by the same persons. The school was a Christian educational institution, designed for the purpose of imparting a knowledge of Christian philosophy and theology, existing side by side with, but not having any official connection with, the Museum. It may have been said to be related to the University of Alexandria in much the same way

* Rom. xv. 19.

† There are also Uniate Greek and Uniate Coptic Patriarchs: but they are mere titulars.

as Mansfield College at Oxford is related to the University of Oxford. It had no buildings of its own, the Head usually lecturing in his own house, no definite organization, and no fees, the lecturer being supported by gifts from wealthy students. The usual course of studies lasted three years. The institution flourished during the third and fourth centuries of our era, and its two most famous Heads were Clement and Origen, of the latter of whom it has been said by a celebrated historian "there has been no truly great man in the Church who did not love him a little."*

A lecture addressed to a general audience can do no more than indicate in the most general terms the character of the teaching and ideas associated with the names of these great men. This can be perhaps best expressed for the benefit of those who are not expert theologians by a contrast. The modern reader who studies the works of those classical theologians, whose names are most generally familiar to the Western world, however sincerely he may be attached to the Christian creed, and however much he may find of truth and beauty in their writings, finds himself every now and then in contact with a profoundly displeasing element, which he cannot but label sometimes intolerance, sometimes, fanaticism, or again rigidity, legalism and narrowness. To illustrate this, we need only adduce the views expressed by St. Augustine, Luther and Calvin with regard to such subjects as the Fall, Original Sin, the future fate of unbaptized heathen and of heretics and schismatics, not to mention the duty of persecuting the heterodox. This element in Western theology, which it is not necessary to define more narrowly, but which everyone will recognize, is historically due to the fact that the first great Latin Christian writers were North-Africans whose temperamental make-up included both the prosaic legalism of Rome and the crude passion of Africa. Clement and Origen, however, lived before St. Augustine, and were unaffected by Tertullian; consequently in them we find the Gospel as it has filtered through minds of a purely

* Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 329.

Hellenic type, without any admixture of specifically Latin or African elements, and their whole presentation of the Faith may on the whole (and with certain reservations in the case of Origen, who was a Copt by birth, though a Greek by education) may be said to have been sunny, reasonable, liberal, balanced and sane; in other words, to have displayed all the best qualities of the genius of Hellas. Particularly noticeable, especially in Origen, is the way in which intense loyalty to ecclesiastical tradition can co-exist with the most daring liberty of speculation in regard to its intellectual interpretation and an extremely elastic and accommodating spirit in delimiting its boundaries. This may be illustrated by Clement's curious distinction between the two Logoi—one the impersonal Logos, immanent in the Being of the Father, the other an emanation from it, the Son-Logos, incarnate in Jesus Christ—and by Origen's peculiar theories, such as that of the pre-natal fall of the soul in the transcendental sphere, and of the universal restoration of all things which will ensure the salvation even of the devil. Both of these daring thinkers died in full communion with the Church. Clement was venerated as a saint in the Roman Church down to the seventeenth century, when his name was omitted from the Roman martyrology on the advice of Baronius. He has, however, been restored to this dignity in the calendar of the "Revised Prayer Book." It might have been thought that Origen's critical and exegetical writings alone, including as they did the great *Hexapla*, or six-columned synopsis of the Hebrew and the chief Greek versions of the Old Testament, would have commanded the gratitude of succeeding Christian generations: yet his name and memory were the centre of bitter conflicts for three hundred years after his death, and in A.D. 543 the Emperor Justinian, by a peculiarly tyrannical act of Erastianism, compelled a synod of tame bishops at Constantinople to pronounce a *post-mortem* anathema against him. Nevertheless, Origen is gradually coming into his own again, and those who are seriously labouring at the task of re-thinking the Christian dogmas in the light of modern scientific knowledge may yet agree to take this great, though unfortunate man, with his curiously

modern mentality, as their leader and example, and perhaps one day to exalt him to something like the dominating place held in Christian thought for fourteen centuries by Augustine of Hippo.

I have left myself little time in which to speak of the great development of Platonism by pagan sages, which took place during the third and succeeding centuries, side by side with the development of Christian theology and a Christianized Platonism by the Alexandrine Fathers; and this is the more excusable as several of the great names of Neo-Platonism, such as those of Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus, have no connection with Alexandria. Yet, cursory though the review of a thousand years of culture must necessarily be, it is impossible not to pay the tribute at least of a mention to Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neo-Platonism, who is said to have earned his living as a quayside porter, and who numbered Origen among his pupils; as also to his greater disciple Plotinus, seer and mystic, who is said four times to have attained to the ecstatic experience of *unio mystica* with the divine, and whose trinity of the One, Mind or νοῦς, and the World-Soul has obvious affinities with the Christian doctrine of God, being indeed a development along the same intellectual lines as those which, in the light of revelation produced the doctrine of the co-equal and co-eternal Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Nor must we omit a passing commemoration of the last of the pagan philosophers of Alexandria, the noble-hearted but unfortunate Hypatia, teacher of the Christian bishop Synesius and victim of a nominally Christian mob.

The history of Alexandria during the remaining centuries of its ancient culture, the fourth, fifth and sixth of our era, tends to become more and more exclusively the record of theological bickering. All will be familiar, at any rate in broad outline, with the story of Arius, parish priest of Baucalis, and of the storm which he raised by his semi-pagan Christological theories; with the life of Athanasius, as a young deacon swaying the Council of Nicaea, as a bishop standing *contra mundum* for the truth of the *Homoousion*, three times exiled from his see and living just long enough to be assured of the ultimate triumph of

his cause. In the victory of the Athanasian cause Christian Platonism won a conspicuous triumph, for the writings of Athanasius are penetrated by a specifically Platonic construction of the Logos doctrine. Yet Platonism was destined to become a *damnosa haereditas* to the Church of Alexandria, for the tendency which it bore within it to emphasize the transcendence of the Logos and to despise matter inevitably led men to forget the humanity of Christ, whilst asserting His Divinity, and to adopt what is known in technical theology as the " Monophysite " point of view, which regards the human nature as swallowed up and lost in the divine, like a drop of vinegar in the ocean. Whatever services may have been rendered to Christian thought by the turbulent and ambitious Cyril, when by methods of dubious morality he secured the condemnation of Nestorius, and the vindication of the Unity of Christ's Person, may be deemed to have been partly counter-balanced by the encouragement which his writings gave to incipient Monophysitism, and by the teaching not obscurely contained in them, that the human life of Christ was on its mental side a piece of " economic " play acting, it being on his principles inconceivable that a Divine Person could really " advance in wisdom," or need to ask questions.* This theological tendency allied itself, in the way which has been the curse of the Christian East for so many centuries, with violent nationalist feeling ; and a third and most interesting factor joined itself to the two just mentioned, namely, the tendency to invest the figure of the Patriarch of Alexandria with the august and indeed semi-divine prerogatives which had belonged to the ancient Pharaohs, whose memory had never been forgotten by the native population of the land in which they had once ruled. It became almost a point of honour for a native Egyptian to espouse the Monophysite tendency, as against the more balanced orthodoxy favoured by Byzantium, and the cause of the " ecclesiastical Pharaoh," as the Nestorians derisively nicknamed the Alexandrian

* *Cf.* Westcott's severe judgment, " Under his (Cyril's) treatment the divine history seems to be dissolved into a docetic drama." (Gospel of St. John, p. xcv.)

pontiff, against Roman pope and Byzantine emperor alike. The result was the great bid for power made by Dioscorus, Cyril's successor in the See of Alexandria, which, though nominally a demonstration in defence of the Alexandrine Christology, was actually an attempt to establish himself as Primate of Christendom. There followed his condemnation at the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), and the consequent outbreak of the Monophysite schism, which tore away the Church of Alexandria from the unity of the Christian world. The rest of the story is a sordid catalogue of riots and assassinations, of contests for the occupation of the episcopal chairs of Egypt between the leaders of the Coptic population and the orthodox favourites of the Byzantine Emperor; until, after the failure of the Emperor Zeno's attempt to produce reunion on the basis of an ambiguous formula at the end of the fifth century, the schism was allowed to become inveterate, and the Church of Alexandria became an independent national church, existing in a state of perpetual friction with the few remaining "Melkites," or "King's men" (i.e. Imperialists), as the orthodox partisans of Byzantium were nicknamed. To this day the two communities are represented by the Coptic Church, which is the ancient church of Athanasius and Cyril enfeebled and degraded by centuries of Arab and Turkish oppression, and the small Orthodox Greek community, which represents the surviving fragment of the Imperial Church. Fatally weakened by this disastrous quarrel, the Eastern Empire could oppose no effective resistance to the torrential onrush of the Mahometan invasion in the seventh century, and the ancient history of Alexandria comes to an end with its capture in A.D. 642 by Amru, the general of the Caliph Omar.

SOME GREEK INFLUENCES IN THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT.

By Robert McElroy, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth, Professor of American History in Oxford University, Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford.*)

A lecture delivered on the *m.v. Théophile Gautier*, April 5th, 1930, when approaching Syracuse on the homeward journey.

We have spent two weeks, which seem like only days, amid scenes associated with the brightest pages of Greek mythology, Greek literature and Greek history. Although somewhat uncertain which is mythology, which is literature and which is history, the humblest of us, whom I have the honour to represent, are content to love them all, leaving the sorting to the wiser minds. We have broken bread with noble shades at Olympia, climbed the stairway where Agamemnon, "King of Men," met the trembling Clytemnestra (assuming that she did the trembling); and threaded the windings of the labyrinth of Crete. Athens and Ægina, Delos and Eleusis have added concrete memories; and to-morrow dispersed Hellas will begin to take on a reality which even the skill of Greek and Roman writers failed to give. So far our maps have been maps of the Ægean Sea. To-morrow we turn to a larger map, the Mediterranean, which includes all salt waters to the Pillars of Hercules. But beyond that narrow strait, which in Greek days marked the limit of human history, so far as Europe knew it or cared about

it, lay a vaster sea, the Atlantic, destined in time to demand the making of still larger maps: and farther still the vaster Pacific, which to-day begins to dominate history. Therefore, as we steam westward, there is a certain appropriateness in the question: When and for what reason did the mind of Europe cease to face east, and turn its thoughts toward the dawning west?

The speculative mind of Greece, even in the age of Ægean domination, when the small map of the Eastern Mediterranean served for all practical purposes, reached out to the problem of what lay, not alone in the Western Mediterranean, but beyond. But no pressing economic urge compelled them to risk the body in pursuing the flights of the mind. They speculated much, but explored little. Thus they stated many geographical problems concerning the Atlantic, but solved few. For example, Plato, in Timæus, makes Solon responsible for repeating a story, received from the priests of Ancient Egypt, that there had once existed in the Atlantic ocean a continent "greater than Lybia and Asia." No one searched for this Atlantis because Plato had further declared that it had "disappeared, swallowed by the waves." It may have been only a literary myth; it may have been a tale actually brought from Egypt by Solon. But it serves to show the mind of Greece in Plato's day busy with the problems of the western ocean, even though not ready to explore its mysteries with more than mind. Aristotle, in De Cælo, II., chapter 14, says: "Some stars are seen in Egypt or at Cyprus, but are not seen in the countries to the north of these; and the stars that in the north are visible where they make a complete circuit, there undergo a setting. So that from this it is manifest, not only that the form of the earth is round, but also that it is part of a not very large sphere; for otherwise, the difference would not be so obvious to persons making so small a change of place. Wherefore we may judge that *those persons* who connect the region in the neighbourhood of the Pillars of Hercules with that towards India, and who assert that in this way the sea is one, do not assert things very improbable." But the physical Aristotle made no effort to

CORRIDOR IN THE PALACE OF MINOS, KNOSSOS.
Photo : A. B. Butler.

WALL PAINTINGS AT KNOSSOS.
Photo : A. B. Butler.

LANDING AND STAIRCASE IN PALACE OF MINOS, KNOSSOS.
Photo : R. D. Banks.

GALLERY, RUINS OF TIRYNS.
Photo: J. F. Roxburgh.

ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE, SYRACUSE.
Photo: J. F. Roxburgh.

follow the course of the mental Aristotle, and test the theory. The very form of his words, however, indicates the existence of a debate upon the general character of the Atlantic ocean when the great philosopher took up the problem and expressed his views upon the subject which *those persons* had been debating.

It would be possible to spend not one but many hours in citing passages in Greek literature which touch upon the general question of what lay west of the Pillars of Hercules, and in proving, if proof were needed, that the mind of Greece far outstripped the widest wanderers of Greece, reaching out to grapple with geographical problems of no pressing practical importance at the time. Greek thoughts on the wider ocean had been presented, discussed, and embodied in unexcelled literary form long before Magna Græcia, a name given to Italian-Greek cities as early as the sixth century B.C., began to feel an economic urge toward the western ocean. The Greek mind had demonstrated the rotundity of the earth, had reacted from Plato's exaggeration of its size, had determined its circumference, with approximate exactitude, and speculated upon the possible existence within it of another continent,* long before the adventurous Pytheas of Marseilles, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, had discovered, or recorded from the reports of explorers, the existence of an island north of the British Isles, and called it Θούλη. This discovery, described with delicious vagueness, lived in literature, and three or four centuries later entered into the poetic prophecy of the Roman Seneca who, in Medea, Act II., lines 375–379, wrote :—

> Venient annis sæcula seris
> Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet et ingens pateat tellus
> Tethysque novos detegat orbes
> Nec sit terris ultima Thule.

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* "In common speech we speak of our world (*oikoumenê*) as divided into continents and islands. This is wrong. The *oikoumenê*, as known to us, is really a single island, lying in the midst of the Atlantic. Probably there are other similar *oikoumenê*, some larger than ours, some smaller, separated from it by the sea."—De Mundo, Cap. 3, once attributed to Aristotle : but now held to represent the opinion of the Aristotelian school.

A sounder scholar than I has translated it thus:—

> "In the dim future, yet shall come an age,
> When ocean shall unloose us from its bands,
> And the vast earths be open to our view
> When the sea, yielding, shall disclose new worlds
> And Thule be no more the last of lands."

Nations rise, play their part, great or small, and pass away, leaving but piles of puzzling fragments to mark the scenes of their glory or their humiliation. But the mind which states a vital problem makes a living contribution which rarely dies, though it is often buried for generations, to be resurrected when some crisis creates a new interest. It was so in this case. For centuries the sound speculations of the Greeks were buried by conditions which left scant room for interest in them, and they were then made suspect by the Fundamentalists of the Early Christian era who, with more piety than wisdom, sought to deduce their geography from a too, too literal interpretation of Scripture, or by inferences from Scriptural teachings. For example, the saintly Augustine gravely dismissed the ancient Greek theory of the rotundity of the earth with the summary statement: "Were the earth a globe, men living on the other side could not see the Lord when He descends to judge the world." One might spend much profitless labour in strengthening that opinion with many others from men undoubtedly wise, learned and holy, but under the spell of a dominating passion for literalism. Perhaps the most entertaining book of all the vast library of its kind is the Christian topography of the sixth-century monk, Cosmas, himself no mean explorer, but the very incarnation of the tendency of his time. "The earth," says Cosmas, "is not a sphere. The blasphemers who prate of the roundness of the earth and teach of the Antipodes, where trees grow downward, and rain falls upward, have been stultified for their sins. The earth is a rectangular plain, from the four sides of which rise the Heavens like the four walls of a room. Over the top is a vaulted roof . . . in which God dwells with His angels. In the middle of the bottom are the inhabited lands, surrounded by vast oceans, far beyond which lies the Garden of Eden from which Adam and Eve were banished." Under the influence of such pious fancies,

the more scientific theories which the Greeks had advanced passed in Europe into oblivion. The theoretical knowledge which Greece had left was buried for several centuries, so far as the Christian nations were concerned. Islam became the custodian and the carrier of the Greek scientific heritage, and only through them did the Greek mind continue to lead mankind toward a new scientific dawn. Nestorian scholars made Syriac versions of Ancient Greek authors, and in various forms these passed into the hands of the few remaining Western scholars through the agency of the merchants who, looking to the East for gain, brought back light for the problems which that commerce was soon to make valuable. Thus the Greek mind, long buried, rose again.

To make clear the circumstances of this resurrection, it is necessary to trace in broad outline the history of the commercial intercourse between Europe and Asia, which reaches as far back as European records. The Phœnicians, the merchants, manufacturers and traders of antiquity, not only traded with the East, but also tested the value of the West as a trading ground. As early as 1100 B.C. they founded Cadiz, and it is probable that their adventurous merchants exploited the tin mines of Early Britain. But the profits of trade with the East proved more lucrative than that of the West, and even before the rise of Rome's domination it was their chief concern. The conquests of Alexander the Great of course increased the Eastern trade: and when the Romans began tapping the East they took over the Greek view concerning its matchless wealth. From time to time, during the Republic, there was a manifest tendency to move the Roman centre eastward. Julius Cæsar was suspected of a design to rebuild the ancient Troy and make it the centre of the Roman world. One of the causes of the battle of Actium was the rumour that Antony planned to make Alexandria the capital of the Republic, now on the point of becoming the Empire. Finally, in 330, Constantine the Great actually made the change, and Byzantium began the wonderful transformation into the city of Constantinople, whose modern shell we have just inspected with sorrow and pity. Its glory has departed: but history will never forget the proud

part which it played for over one thousand five hundred years, in the development of Christian commerce and the defence of Christian civilization. Through its beautiful harbours, in ever increasing volume, flowed the wealth of the East. From it diverged trade routes which brought eastern products, and other trade routes which distributed them to wholesale centres in Europe. From behind its ramparts heroes checked the westward trend of Paganism.

When the Saracens conquered Syria and Egypt, in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., the trade routes through Constantinople became even more important, as the competing routes to the South had fallen under Saracen control. Had Constantinople fallen in the crisis of 717, Christianity itself would have been in mortal peril. But it did not fall: it resisted, and as a result we have the Isaurian Emperors of the eighth and ninth centuries, the faded remnants of whose vanished glories we have just seen.

The Saracens, however, did succeed in establishing for a period a monopoly of the Oriental trade. They closed the old trade routes to European merchants, and during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries Europe was cut off from contact with the Far East as she had never been before. But the Saracens met the established demand for Oriental goods, and the brilliant civilization and culture of their Empire rested largely upon this commerce between Europe and the East.

Toward the end of the tenth century, however, they passed the fire of their Mohammedan faith on to the barbaric Seljuk Turks, a nomad race of Central Asia. As the Turks moved westward about 1016, they found Asia Minor wealthy, refined, luxurious. In less than a century they had made it a wilderness. Ruthless, barbaric, resistless, they swept over Saracen civilization and invited the inevitable, an organized resistance by Europe, which saw Christianity facing a far more deadly menace than the Saracens had been. Again Constantinople acted as a barrier, and but for her heroic courage, the Seljuk Turks might have finished what was left of Western civilization. Almost alone, behind the ramparts which we have seen, she defended all that was left of Greek heritage, of Roman heritage, of Christian culture.

The use which the Seljuks made of their imperfect victory, imperfect because Constantinople still defied them, called Europe to a series of united expeditions, called the Crusades, which lasted intermittently from 1096 to 1270. During the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, Venice betrayed her trust and treacherously captured Constantinople, thus diverting a Holy War against the infidels to a selfish war against Christian allies.* Whatever we may think of the military or moral aspects of the Crusades, it is certain that they served to re-open the old trade routes. Of this revived Oriental trade, Venice got the lion's share and became the richest and most luxurious of European cities. But her rivals as seats of wholesale trade with the East, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi, flourished greatly also: while trade routes radiating from them as centres developed the great distributing centres to the north and west which became famous as the rich members of the Hanseatic League. The prosperity, not alone of the Italian City States, but of all the eighty-five commercial centres which ultimately made up the Hanseatic League, depended upon the maintenance of the Oriental trade. While their machinery of collection and distribution was developing, and before the Crusading movement had fully spent itself, the Mongols, Tartars from Eastern Chinese Tartary, began moving westward. By degrees they conquered Northern Asia, and Persia, overwhelmed the Turks of Asia Minor, and at last their leader could fairly boast that "not a dog could bark without Mongol leave," from end to end of the vast Continent of Asia. Then a surprising thing happened. The victorious Mongols threw open the old trade routes to the East: and during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries Asia was open to European travellers as it had never been open before. It was during this period that China and Japan first became known by sight to European travellers, and each traveller's tales tended to increase Europe's inherited belief that the East

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* An interesting account of this incident is given in the address of Rev. H. B. Workman, D.Litt., D.D., reproduced in the Proceedings of the Hellenic Travellers' Club, 1929, pp. 137-144.

was the centre of the world's richest treasures, a region, as a misguided hymn-writer expresses it :—

> "Where every prospect pleases,
> And only man is vile."

The wanderings of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1160-1173), Friar John de Plano Carpini (1246-1247), William of Rubruck (1253-1255), and Friar Odoric (1318-1330) vastly increased Europe's knowledge of the East during this period. But the most valuable and comprehensive of the books produced by travellers was Marco Polo's "Book Concerning the Marvels of the East." It did most to convince Europe that her greatest chance of continuing the march towards fabulous wealth was continued trade with Cathay. Its origin is as remarkable as the book itself. In 1260 Nicolo and Maffio Polo, of Venice, after a visit to their trading house in Constantinople, crossed to Cathay and made a visit to the great Mongol ruler, Kublai Khan, at Peking. They were well received, and upon their return the Mongol asked that 100 Christian missionaries should be sent to China. "Return," he said, ". . . to your pontiff, and present to him my request, that he should send a hundred persons learned in your law, who, when confronted with the others (heathen teachers), will be able to control them, and while proving themselves endowed with a similar skill, shall render their antagonists unable in their presence to carry on these practices. On witnessing this, I will interdict the exercise of their religion, and suffer myself to be baptized." The request was duly reported to Rome : but at that moment there was an interregnum in the Papacy. Clement IV. had just died and his successor, Gregory X., had not yet been elected. There was, therefore, a necessary period of delay, and even after the new Pope was established, in 1271, volunteers could not easily be found for so hazardous a mission. At last two Dominicans undertook to go with the Polos, but, after completing a part of the journey, they turned back. Meanwhile, Kublai Khan, impatient of delay, summoned Buddhist missionaries from Thibet, and a great chance was lost for the Church of Rome.

But what the Roman missionary spirit was then too weak to accomplish, the commercial spirit of Venice ventured upon. Nicolo and Maffio Polo pushed on to China, in 1271, taking with them Nicolo's seventeen-year-old son Marco. They reached the Great Wall of China in 1275, and two years later, 1277, Marco's name appeared as a second-class commissioner of the Khan's Privy Council. With the enthusiasm and elasticity of youth, he entered marvellously into the strange life of the East, learned the prevailing dialects, and marked for future reference the myriad new facts which confronted him on every side. All three possessed the trader's instinct for gain, and as a result they rapidly accumulated a rich store of Oriental jewels, wealth in a form capable of easy transport.

In 1292 the Polos were reluctantly allowed to return home, upon condition that they would deliver a bride-to-be, the lady Kukachin, to the Ilkhan or Tartar Lord of Persia, who had lost his favourite wife in 1286 and wished to fill her place from the Great Khan's court. When they reached Persia, they found that the prospective bridegroom was dead: but they persuaded his successor to accept the bride as his own, and thus freed of their burden they appeared in Venice, in 1295. There the same situation confronted them which had faced the crafty Ulysses upon his return to Ithaca after twenty years of wandering. No one recognized them. They had long ago been given up as dead, and their weeping relatives had long ago entered into their inheritance, and ceased to weep. Ramusio, a famous Italian collector of stories of discovery, thus tells the story of their rehabilitation in Venice. Having got possession of their own house, the Polos invited a number of leaders of Venetians to a dinner, prepared with great splendour. At first the returned travellers appeared in robes of rich damask. These they early discarded, giving them to the attendants as though of slight value. Next they appeared clothed in heavy satin garments which in their turn were disposed of in the same manner, to be succeeded by garments of heavy velvet: and so to the end of the feast. When the service was concluded and the servants expelled, Marco retired and returned with the shabby Tartan garments in which the travellers had

journeyed home. These he threw on the table and with a sharp knife began opening the seams. From these he emptied a wealth of Oriental gems before the eyes of his astonished guests. The Venetians understood the value of such gems, and accepted them as documents convincing enough to complete the rehabilitation of the Polo family. An office was conferred upon Marco, and the respect due to their wealth was paid to the older travellers.

As the story of Marco Polo's adventures was spread abroad, other young men flocked to his house to hear from his own lips what he had seen, and to go their way with dreams of a similar wealth-producing journey. His house, by reason of the frequent repetition of the phrase, "the millions of the great Khan," became known as the Court of the Millions and he became Marcus Paulo Milioni. In 1298 Marco Polo, now a distinguished Venetian leader, was captured in the battle of Curzola and carried off a prisoner to the rival city of Genoa. Thither flocked the young men of Genoa to hear from the famous prisoner the story of the marvellous East. Weary at last with the endless repetition, Marco dictated to a fellow prisoner, Rusticano of Pisa, in bad French, but in gratifying detail, the story of what he had seen in the Kublai Khan's Court, Capital and Empire, and in the vast outlying regions which he had visited. He was the first to describe the East, as distinct from mere sections, which previous travellers had visited; the first to reveal, from personal knowledge, the almost unbelievable glories of China, with its great cities, its manufactories, its commerce, its strange customs and its boundless potential wealth. He told of Siberia with its sledges, its white bear, its reindeer which carry passengers like the wind. He touched upon Japan, which he had not visited, but which he described from what he deemed reliable testimony. He describes a wonderful palace of the island of Zipangu (Japan), "all covered with that metal (gold) as our churches are with lead. The pavement of the chamber, the halls, windows and every other part, have it laid on two inches thick, so that the riches of this palace are incalculable. Here are also red pearls, large, and of equal value with the white, with many other precious stones." He spoke of 7,448 islands reported

by experienced mariners to abound in spices, pepper, gold and precious woods, where fortunes lay ready for the men bold enough to voyage to them ; though he had not visited them, he had satisfied himself that they lay in part of an ocean, just like the sea of England, the Bay of Biscay (mer de Rocelle), or the sea of India. This was probably his most important geographical contribution, as he explained that this ocean was actually navigated by vessels, provided with 50 or 60 cabins each, the largest of which had water-tight compartments as safeguards, a device then unknown in most European waters. Such information inevitably led to a revival in the minds of scholars of the question which the Greeks had asked : how much navigable sea lies between Spain and Asia ? It is difficult at times to separate Marco's hearsay from his observations, for, like Herodotus, his ear was ever open to stories with what we call " publicity value." We are interested, for example, but not convinced, when he tells of one local monarch with 326 children, 150 of whom were sons, full grown.

Moving westward, he told of Burma with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns ; of Laos, Siam and Cochin China, with their rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces ; of the Indian Archipelago, sources of the aromatic spices, so valued in Europe ; of Java, the pearl of the South Sea ; Sumatra with its strange, cannibal races ; and of India, the vast and mysterious, full of wealth and beauty. It was a wonderful story, told with the rare skill of a man who had tested it upon many audiences and knew how to make his points tell, his message bear conviction. A book which lasts 700 years, and continues to be commercially printed, is no ordinary book. During all those centuries scholars have been testing his stories, and to-day there is a general agreement with the verdict of the eminent scholar, C. Raymond Beazley* : " In spite of its shortcomings, its occasional concessions to legend and romance, the appeal of the Prologue is admirably true—*pour savoir la pure vérité des diverses régions du monde, si prenez ce livre et le faites lire.*" But its effect upon the Europe of his own

* *The Dawn of Modern Geography.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906, 3 vols.

times, and upon interest in Eastern trade, is better stated in the words of John Masefield: "The wonder of Marco Polo is this—that he created Asia for the European mind."* It was, and still is, the best survey of the East which mediæval days produced, and only Ibn Batuta rivals it in literary skill. Naturally, Europe wanted the Polo book in each tongue, and that was readily furnished. We know of 85 manuscript copies; and the number of editions and translations, after the first printed copy of 1477, was multitudinous.

But best sellers always tempt to imitation, and during the 129 years from Polo's death in 1324 and the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there were many imitations, most popular of which was John Mandeville's Pilgrims' Guide published in 1371. Mandeville had evidently been only as far as the Holy Land: but he had access to Friar Odoric's account of a journey to Hindustan, and with its help and a lively imagination he furnished waiting Europe with a guide which became perhaps the most popular book of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It told of pillars of gold, pavements of silver, tables and utensils of entire precious stones. It mentioned one ruby half a foot long, which flashed its light even in perfect darkness. It described the chariot of the Great Khan, made of wood cut in the Terrestrial Paradise. But most lasting of the interesting inventions was the story of a fountain of perpetual youth, there in Marco Polo's Asia, whereof, he said, "I have drunk three or four times, and methinks I still fare the better." That was the book over which, as Bernaldez assures us, Columbus himself pored as though he believed its words inspired. But, with all his faults, Mandeville had one great virtue. He reacted to the ancient Greek belief in the rotundity of the earth, scorning the nonsense of the monk Cosmas and his theory of a flat earth. "Men may go," says Mandeville, "all around the earth, as well under as above . . . and always they will find, men, lands, and isles . . . All parts of the sea and land have their opposites, habitable and passable." He then illustrated his theory by the story of a man who left

* *Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian.* Everyman Edition.

England and travelled steadily, until he was surprised to come upon a land where ploughmen were calling to their oxen in the English tongue. Surprised, he turned about and travelled steadily in the opposite direction. Again he came to a shore where men were calling to their oxen in his own tongue. He had, according to Mandeville, twice circumnavigated the earth, and the two places where he had heard his native tongue were two sides of his own country.

Just as the fever of enthusiasm for this Eastern trade was at its height, just as the machinery for this Eastern trade was at its maximum, supplying the products of the East wholesale to the Italian City States, which sent them over Europe by the routes which fed the Hanseatic League, the Chinese rose against their Mongol conquerors; and the Liberal Mongol Empire gave place to the Chinese Ming Dynasty. Tamerlain, the Kublai Khan's successor, died, and the Mings began shutting out Europeans from Asia. As this closing of the old routes was effected, the Italian City States and the Hanseatic League began declining.

Then, about 1365, the Ottoman Turks took Asia Minor, and began closing the Eastern trade routes as they slowly tightened their coils around the doomed city of Constantinople. Europe was organized for Eastern trade: but Eastern trade was vanishing under the combined exclusiveness of Ottoman and Ming. Barred from the East by a living terror, the mind of Europe, the informed mind, began to consider the problem, can the products of the East be reached by any other route than those now falling into hostile hands?

In this crisis, the voice of ancient Greece began to speak once more. The memory of haunting passages relating to the West returned to the minds of men who still read the classical authors of antiquity. Fortunately, the heritage of Greece was easily available. In 1267, stirred no doubt by rumours of the first Polo journey, Roger Bacon had gathered into his Opus Magus, one of the great books of all time, the Greek arguments concerning the Western Ocean. "Aristotle," he said, "says that there is not much ocean between the western parts of Spain and the eastern

parts of India. He thinks that more than a fourth part of the surface of the globe is habitable. Averrhoes confirms this. Seneca says that this sea might be crossed in a few days with a favourable wind. Pliny says that people have actually sailed from the Arabian Gulf to Cadiz. Now the Arabian Gulf is a whole year's voyage from the Indian sea (at the extremity of Asia), so that it is clear that the eastern extremity of Asia cannot be a long way from us. . . . Aristotle must have known more than other people, because by Alexander's favour he sent out 2,000 men to enquire about these matters. So must Seneca, for the Emperor Nero sent out people to explore the same way." In 1410, Petrus Alliacus copied this memorable passage into a volume entitled " Imago Mundi," a copy of which, with marginal notes in Columbus' handwriting, is still preserved. It is furthermore cited, in Columbus' letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, dated 1498, as one of the authorities which had put him on his great adventure. Thus, as Edward John Payne expresses it, " the torch which Aristotle had kindled was transmitted by Bacon to Alliacus (and) Alliacus handed it on to Columbus."

Through Bacon and Petrus Alliacus the dead Greece was yet speaking the underlying thoughts which could illuminate the pathway of the great Genoese—assuming that Columbus was Genoese.

I need add only one thought to this intimation regarding the persistence of Greek thought in one of many fields. When the great Western Ocean had been crossed, and men were groping for explanations of the astonishing discoveries which now poured in upon Europe, Francis Bacon, in his New Atlantis, identified Plato's Atlantis with the new Continents, adding the information that Atlantis had not been destroyed as Plato thought, but had only been lost to Western knowledge. It has now been rediscovered, he said, and is peopled by a " barbarous race called Americans."

MELOS.

By J. F. Roxburgh, M.A.
(*Headmaster of Stowe School*).

Delivered on board m.v. "Théophile Gautier," Tuesday, 15th April, 1930.

I expect we all know a good deal about Melos already from the map. We know, for instance, that the island consists largely of one vast harbour. Such a harbour would have made the fortune of a mainland coast town. But the harbour of Melos has no mainland behind it. It is a port without a hinterland—a huge box-office without a theatre. We know also that the big bay which forms the harbour is the crater of a volcano—just like the big bay of Santorin next door. Santorin, however, has the great advantage over Melos that a little crater inside its big one is still functioning, whereas there is not a spark to be seen on Melos and scarcely even a puff of smoke. I feel that as the spokesman for the island on this occasion, I must admit this right away. Pyrotechnically Melos is a failure.

However, in one sense, the sparks did once fly on Melos —or rather not once, but many times. The ruins of Phylakopi record the struggles of Minoan and Mycenean, of Helladic and Hellenic, which must have gone on at Melos as at Mycenæ. Then centuries later during the Persian Wars came the moment when the Melians had to decide whether they would give or refuse "earth and water" to the envoys of the Great King. They refused, as later they were to refuse a demand not less outrageous. Then later again came the Romans and the building of the Roman town and the fine theatre which King Ludwig of Bavaria excavated. With the Romans came days of prosperity like those of Delos, while the Pax Romana lay over the Mediterranean, broken though it was occasionally by civil wars and regularly by pirates.

Piracy was of course endemic in the Ægean till the nineteenth century. On one occasion the entire population of Delos was carried off by pirates (just before Pompey was

sent to deal with them) and Melos was raided again and again.

Then followed the division of the Empire, the growing incompetence of the Byzantine Government and the growing impudence of the pirates. Then the Fourth Crusade, the Frankish conquest and pirates again. Then the Venetian exploitation, with more pirates, and the establishment of the Duchy of Naxos—Saludi first, then Crispi—and pirates all the time. Then the domination of the Turks and so many pirates that a party of Melians emigrated to London in disgust and lodged in a street that has been called Greek Street ever since. Then came an understanding with the pirates which made Melos a piratical clearing house, and the Melians all "fences" in the Edgar Wallace sense—prosperous fences, too. Then the War of Independence and a respectable decline, accompanied by excavations, archæology and the visits of wandering scholars and finally by what the French call *le tourisme*. At all these stages except the last there were sieges and sackings and massacres in plenty. That is what one expects when pirates and mediæval conquerors are on the stage. And most of these massacres were far more horrible than the bad business of 416. Yet we remember the incident of 416 and forget all the other incidents, or smile at them. Why is that? I think it must be because we expect nothing of pirates and Franks and Turks, but we expect of the Athenians what we should expect of ourselves. When they disappoint us, it is as if a man who had been at school with us had been convicted of cruelty or fraud. It is as if one of the family had gone wrong. This instinctive feeling of ours is the highest tribute that we could pay to the Athenians—but I believe that we do all pay it.

It is while the Turks were still in possession, though only some hundred years ago, that the limelight flickered upon Melos once more, and out of the great harbour sailed —albeit in circumstances more comic than befitted her— the goddess Aphrodite, bound on one of her civilizing expeditions (she has just made another one, this time from Italy) to the barbarous North. But before I come to 1820 I must speak of 416, and that I am sure is what you expect of me. For of course if the word Melos means anything to

any of us, it means first the Fifth Book of Thucydides and the Melian Dialogue. My primary business this evening, therefore, is to recall the Thucydides passage to those of the ship's company (if any) whose scholarship is rusty.

It was during the great lull in the Peloponnesian War. The Athenians were still suffering from frayed nerves, and in order to remind them that they were not after all in such a bad way, Nikias had been building the Erechtheum which we shall be admiring on Thursday, and Alcibiades had been winning chariot races at Olympia where we were to-day. Since the ostracism of the demagogue so happily named "Hyperbolus," these two had shared the leadership of Athens—Nikias, who is regularly described as "respectable" by the historians (in both the French and the English sense), and Alcibiades, who has never been so described by anyone. Both men since the failure of their hopeless Anti-Spartan League at Mantinea in 418 had been anxious to convince the Athenians of their energetic nationalism and their military competence. Nikias planned to sail North and exact the restoration of Amphipolis—though the project, like most of Nikias' projects, came to nothing. Alcibiades carried out an expedition against Argos and planned the attack on Melos with which his name will always be dishonourably associated.

What had once been the Confederacy of Delos, a free alliance of Greek Naval States against the Persians, supported, if not exactly "by voluntary contributions only," at any rate by moderate contributions fixed by Aristides the Just, was now the Athenian Empire supported by enforced contributions fixed by Cleon the Unconscionable. The Empire claimed to include all the Island Cities of the Ægean. But it did not in fact include quite all. It did not include either Melos or Thera, which is now called Santorin. The Athenians dealt with Melos but not with Santorin. Perhaps they did not like volcanos. The Melians were kinsmen of the Spartans and had always claimed to be potentially their allies. They had never committed any hostile act against the Athenians (though the Athenians had once attacked them), but they had always refused to become their subject-allies. This refusal was, however, a serious offence in itself, for it showed all

the other islanders that it was possible to remain outside the Athenian Empire and survive. It was to be expected that the Athenians would be resentful. Still the offence of remaining quietly outside the Empire was very much less grave than that of revolting from the Empire after once being in it. That offence had been committed by Mytilene in 427. Cleon had then persuaded the Athenians to order the massacre of the whole population. But they had repented next day, and the famous race rowed by the second trireme to catch up the first enabled the order to be cancelled just as it was about to be carried out. This time, however, though the provocation had been so much less, the Athenians needed no Cleon to persuade them to savagery, and this time there were no second thoughts. So much had Athens changed in eleven years.

The Melians put up a gallant fight behind their walls and made two sorties which considerably discomfited the Athenians, but in the end treachery (as always in Greece) broke down the defence and the Athenians " put to death all the grown men whom they took, and sold the women and children for slaves."

What does Thucydides think of this incident ? It was of next to no military importance, and he might quite well have omitted to record it at all. Or if he did record it, he could quite well have stated only the bare fact of the capture and massacre. Had he done that, the whole thing might have seemed to us now just one of those horrible incidents in Greek history which make us sometimes feel that much of Greek warfare was like the play of naughty children who have got hold of real pistols instead of toy ones. But Thucydides neither omits the incident nor records it briefly. To him it seems to have possessed an immense moral significance. He saw it as the first full expression of the evil spirit which had been possessing Athens more and more completely since Cleon first began to pervert the city of Pericles. He saw it as the first culmination of that Hubris which was to lead to the final act of arrogance and avarice—the Sicilian expedition—and thereby to the disgrace and ruin of the city which had saved Europe sixty-four years ago. He does not say this. He passes no direct moral judgment at all. But it was not

THE VENUS OF MELOS.

SEATS, INCLUDING THAT OF PRIEST,
IN THEATRE OF DIONYSIUS, ATHENS.
Photo : R. H. BULMER.

THE PARTHENON, ATHENS.

his method to pass direct moral judgments. When he wishes to show how people felt and what their motives were, he makes them speak for themselves, and that is what he does here. He makes the Athenian Generals speak to the principal officials of Melos and, in what is perhaps the most famous Imaginary Conversation in any history book, expound with cynical candour the ruthless arrogance of a tyrannical State. I have called the conversation "imaginary" because it is almost inconceivable that it could have taken place, and quite inconceivable that Thucydides could know the details of it if it had. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (quoted in Mr. Cornford's deeply interesting *Thucydides Mythistoricus*) describes the speeches of the Athenian commanders as "appropriate to an Oriental potentate." He says that if anyone "had ventured to speak like this in the presence of the Athenians themselves he would have grievously offended the men who civilized the world." In his view, and I think in Grote's, although the action of the Athenians implied the theory which Thucydides makes their commanders expound, it was not a theory which the Athenians admitted even to themselves —still less one which they would have allowed their representatives to express in their name. The theory, of course, is simply that "might is right." The development of it in the Dialogue is interesting, and I am going, if you will bear with me, to read you a shortened version of what Thucydides makes each side say :—

Athenians. Do not let us waste time thinking about right and wrong. Right means nothing except between equals. We all know that the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must. Let us be practical.

Melians. It is surely a practical consideration that if you destroy us you will be setting up a precedent which may be used against yourselves.

Ath. We'll risk that. We are more afraid of our subject-allies revolting than of Sparta conquering us. Meanwhile we will spare your city if you will join our Empire.

Mel. Can't we be friends of Athens without becoming subjects ?

Ath. No, you can't. It would be too dangerous. Everybody would say we were afraid of you.

Mel. Well, if you treat us savagely you will turn all neutrals against you.

Ath. There aren't any neutrals, except inland States which don't concern us. The people we are afraid of are our subject-allies—and islanders who ought to be in the Empire and aren't.

Mel. If your allies are so resentful of your rule, we should be cowards to come under it voluntarily.

Ath. It is not cowardice to submit to an enemy that is certain to overpower you. It is just sense.

Mel. Nothing is certain in war. We are not quite without hope.

Ath. Hope is a dangerous ally for people who are risking all they have got.

Mel. We realize what we are risking, but we have some hope all the same. We know we have as good a claim as you have to the intervention of heaven—which we call "chance"—for we are just men resisting injustice. Besides, the Spartans are bound in honour as well as in policy to help us.

Ath. We are not afraid that Heaven will come in against us. Of the gods we believe and of men we know that by compulsion of their nature they rule wherever they can. We did not invent that law and we were not the first to act on it. It was not a novelty when we took it over and it will last far beyond our time. You would obey it as we are doing if the positions were reversed. As to the "honour" of Sparta—we congratulate you on your innocence, but we cannot envy you your folly. At Sparta what is called "honourable" is just what happens to be expedient.

Mel. It is the Spartans' sense for what is expedient that will prevent them from betraying us.

Ath. Expediency inclines men to play for safety. It is a sense of honour that makes men take risks. The Spartans do not like risks.

Mel. We believe that they will take a risk for us. We are quite near their coast, and after all we are their kinsmen. Even if they won't face your fleet, they are sure to make a diversion elsewhere, perhaps in Attica.

Ath. That would not make us relax our grip on you. We are a determined people.

Now isn't it rather surprising that though you are anxious to do what is best for your country you have not produced a single argument to show that it will be best for your country to resist our power? You talk about hope and a possibility of Spartan help, but you never refer to the size of your army as compared with ours. Surely you cannot be such fools as to be afraid of what people call "disgrace." "Disgrace"!—why, it is only a word, and yet you find people who know well enough where their interest lies so blinded by the idea of this word "disgrace" that they rush straight into disaster—with the result that they look disgracefully silly. Don't *you* be so absurd. Here is the greatest city in Hellas making you a most reasonable offer. Don't reject it and choose war when you might have peace. You have only one city to lose—and you are going to lose it now, unless you make a wise decision.

After deliberating in private the Melians gave their answer :—

> Melos has been a city for 700 years. We are not going to deprive it of its freedom in a single day. We will put our trust in the fortune of Heaven and in the help of Sparta, and so aided we will try to save ourselves.

Then follows a description of the siege and capture, and the Fifth Book ends thus :—

> The Athenians put to death all the grown men whom they took and sold the women and children for slaves. Later they sent out five hundred colonists to occupy the place for Athens.

So much for the story of the crime. Turn the page, and you begin upon the story of the punishment. The Sixth Book opens with the words :—

> The same winter the Athenians resolved to sail again to Sicily with a greater armament than before.

And now for 1820.

Several well-known statues have come out of Melos. There is a Melian Asclepius, for instance, in the British Museum, and a head of Poseidon and an archaic Apollo at Athens. These would have been enough to show that the people who inhabited the Roman city knew what was good. But it is not these that have caught the imagination of the modern world and given Melos that odd kind of fame which attaches to a city that has had one great citizen and one only. When I said "Melos" there I ought really to have said "Milo." The two are geographically identical, but spiritually distinct. I noticed the other day that in describing his flight from India to Croydon a well-known airman wrote that he had flown from Crete to Athens "across the blue Ægean, passing over the islands of the Archipelago, including Milo." He did not say "including Delos" or "including Patmos"; he said "including Milo." Why did he select Melos and why did he call it Milo? Obviously because he knew that all his readers had heard of the Venus of Milo, that many of them had seen her, and that of those who had seen her most must be in love with her. For after all she is one of the most gracious creatures in the whole of the marble population of Europe—one of the most gracious and, till recently, one

of the most discussed. Some people still claim (as many used to claim) that she is a real classic and comes out of the fourth century. But I think her date is pretty well agreed on now. She first took up that charming pose of hers about 100 B.C., and her creator (whose name ended with ——ANDER and began we know not how) had seen some of the masterpieces of Praxiteles with his own eyes before he began his work. But if her date and artistic lineage are agreed upon, everything else is in dispute. What were her arms doing before they were broken off? Was she a Victory writing names upon a shield like the Nike of Brescia at Rome—though a Nike Apteros, of course? Was she an Amphitrite, making a pair with the Poseidon whose head is to be seen at Athens? Was she a Venus, whose right hand clutched at her falling drapery while her left held high the apple which His Honour Judge Paris had just awarded her? With one arm gone at the shoulder and the other gone a little above the elbow, it did not seem possible to know. Nor is it possible—from merely looking at her. But now the facts about her discovery have become known, and we have the evidence of the first Westerner who saw her after she had come to light. This man looked upon her in her perfection and saw for himself in what position she had been holding her arms for nineteen centuries—and then he watched her lose them for ever in five minutes, just one hundred and ten years ago.

In March, 1820, a peasant who had a tiny farm near the Roman theatre was working with his son in a terraced field. The wall of the terrace was of great antiquity, as terraced walls in Mediterranean countries are apt to be, and it contained some pieces of dressed stone which seemed to be older still. Quite lately one of the neighbours had sold some pieces of old stone with marks on them to Yorgos Bottonis of Castro, the landlord, for a whole truss of hay, and it occurred to our friend's practical mind that his stones too might have their price. He and his son proceeded therefore to dislodge a few of them. It was a tough job, but at last they got three big stones to come out together —and found themselves looking not at brown earth, but into black space. This seemed queer and a little alarming.

So they took out more stones and had another look. This time they could see that the space was a kind of room—they called it a grotto later on—and that there was someone in it standing at the back. They did not like this a bit and they went off and sat down at a safe distance to take breath. Then, their courage returning, they approached the hole again and saw that the person in it had not moved. They got a light and told each other that they would go in and look. With native politeness each motioned to the other to enter first, but eventually they tumbled through the gap together. Still the person at the back did not move and it took them very little time to realise that the person was a statue—and therefore probably exchangeable for hay. Yorgos Bottonis was approached and came to inspect the find. He protested that it was of little worth, but none the less amazed his tenant by offering him three trusses of hay for it. The peasant, though dazzled by such an offer, held out for more and eventually secured the addition of three cream cheeses to the price. Bottonis then proceeded to carry off his prize (no easy matter), and finding that the statue was made in two halves, the upper half being detachable a little below the top edge of the drapery, he removed this upper half to his own house, leaving the lower half where it was. Then he lay low and waited for a purchaser. He found one.

On April 16th, 1820—one hundred and ten years ago to-morrow—*La Chevrette*, a small French naval vessel, anchored in the harbour, and a young officer, M. Dumont d'Urville (afterwards a Polar explorer of note) went ashore. Bottonis introduced him to his statue—at least to the upper half of her—and saw that he had been wise to do so. M. d'Urville knew at once that he was looking at one of the loveliest things on earth, bargained for her there and then, and made Bottonis promise to keep her till he brought or sent the purchase money. He then warned the French Consul at Melos (M. Brest) to keep Bottonis to his bargain, and sailed at once for Constantinople, where he told the Ambassador of his find.

The Ambassador lost no time. He sent M. de Marcellus with a cheque book to Melos by the first naval vessel he could secure, the *Estafette*. But it was too late. Bottonis

had been offered cash down by a rival buyer, and had agreed to part with the statue right away. Bottonis was a realist. The rival buyer was a Turk (or at least lived in Constantinople), and the ship he had sent, a Turkish brig, was anchored in the harbour, with the lower half of the statue already aboard, when the *Estafette* sailed in. By the time M. de Marcellus had grasped the situation, a party of Turkish sailors with some Greek volunteer helpers were bringing the upper half down to the sea. They had set the figure upright on a kind of hand-cart (having fixed her there with ropes, of which the marks remain on the marble to this day) and now they were pushing and pulling and half carrying the cart, with protests and perspiration, towards the water's edge. de Marcellus wasted no time. He landed a party of French marines with cutlasses and cudgels. The Turkish brig landed a rival party. There was a scuffle—quite severe for a moment. Then a Turk got wounded, and his friends (suddenly remembering that the Prophet disapproved of statues) retired to the brig to help him to look for a bandage. Meanwhile, the statue had been knocked over. She had fallen (literally) on her nose (you can see the scars on that shapely feature still) and had broken her right arm and lost her left at the shoulder-joint—where an iron dowel had held it on. The French picked her up and hauled her along with more haste than care, for they feared a counter-attack from the brig. But there was no counter-attack, and soon the goddess was on board the *Estafette*. But only half of her. The rest was in the Turkish brig. What was to be done? Well, that is where the Ambassador's cheque book came in. By the evening both halves of the statue were in French hands—in which they have remained ever since. But whereas the statue which the farmer found had been perfect and complete, the statue with which the *Estafette* set sail had a much scratched nose and no arms at all.

All this happened on the 23rd May, 1820. Why was it not made known till the other day? Because no one dared to make it known. How could the Turks admit that they had first run away and then taken a bribe? They simply reported that the French had bought the statue and got it away before they arrived. How could

the French admit that they had attacked the armed forces of a friendly Power and shed Turkish blood on Turkish soil? They simply reported that the statue was broken when they took delivery. And so it was believed for nearly a century. Then the descendants of M. Dumont d'Urville allowed his private journal to be seen by the French Academician, M. Jean Aicard, and soon afterwards a manuscript note was discovered written and signed by Lieut. Matterer, who accompanied d'Urville to Bottonis' house and saw the statue with him on April 16th. He left this testimony behind him for use after his death, but it was lost sight of for a time. Unless these documents are forgeries (and both, I believe, are in the Library of the Institut de France, which does not care for forgeries), there is no doubt that d'Urville and Matterer saw the Venus perfect and undamaged 110 years ago. What they say of her pose is therefore presumably correct.

What do they say of it? What most of us have suspected—that she clutched her drapery with her right hand and held an apple in her left. There are surviving statues (of Roman date) which show just such a pose as that. Doubtless Venus Victrix with her newly won apple became a traditional figure, like the Victory with the shield. But the pose is not a specially attractive one, and it is hard to believe that our Aphrodite would have been as graceful as she is if she had kept her arms. In any case, her face and the whole look of her seem unsuited to the conquering and conscienceless beauty who had just defeated the rival goddesses, and won the prize inscribed "*For the fairest.*" Like the Hermes at Olympia, who seems so indifferent to the child he carries on his arm, Aphrodite must have looked quite indifferent to the apple which artistic tradition required her to display. The apple was no doubt there, but I do not believe the goddess cared whether it was or not. Perhaps that is why she dropped the apple when they upset the apple-cart. Certainly there is nothing in her face to suggest mockery or triumph. There is a dignity in her expression that is almost divine and at the same time a kindliness that, though rather distant, is gentle and human. Perhaps that gentle dignity of her accounts for her preservation in the stormy sixteenth

century. Before the Fourth Crusade there was a shrine on Melos sacred to Aphrodite Euploia—Venus the Sailors' Friend—containing a statue of the goddess to which mariners and merchants made their vows. After the arrival of Christianity there was a church on the same spot containing an image of the Virgin. This Virgin, too, was the Sailors' Friend, like Notre Dame de la Garde at Marseilles. She had a blue cloak and a blue hood, and she held a ball in one hand to amuse the Infant Christ—or so it was supposed.

When the Turks came, about 1560, the Virgin disappeared—which was just as well, since the Prophet does not approve of statues. Some of the devout, who knew the Prophet's foible, had hidden their Lady in a cave and walled up the door till better times should come. But better times were slow in coming, and the Virgin stayed in her grotto for 250 years till the pick of Bottonis' tenant broke in upon her peace. The rest of the story you already know. Venus, like a wise woman, made the best of her way to Paris and has been there ever since. If a Frenchman ever asks you when we are going to return the Elgin marbles to Athens, you can say, "We will consider doing so when the Venus goes back to Milo." He will not press the point.

TEST PAPER ON THE HELLENIC CRUISE (No. 20).

By R. K.

All Answers to be handed in to the Cruise Office at Marseilles.

1.—What is your view of Greek roads? What can be inferred, from their character, as to the material of Pheidippides' running shoes? Did the conditions of the traffic problem in his time justify Œdipus in committing parricide?

2.—Would you describe the features of the Niké of Olympia as characteristically Greek?

3.—Were women present, and, if so, in what numbers, at (*a*) the Olympian Games, (*b*) the Tauro-what's-his-name, (*c*) the Oxford and Cambridge deck sports? What circumstances limited their number in each case?

4.—Give the probable date of the first person who thought of describing the civilization of Knossos as "a poor thing, but Minoan."

5.—Discuss the failure of the mediæval world to realize the importance of (*a*) the anatomy of the Tiger, (*b*) rickets, (*c*) trade routes.

6.—What were Shakespere's chief sources of literary inspiration? Was St. Paul's preaching in the catacombs at Syracuse due to "perseguitation by the Paggans"? Was the Theatre really altered by the Emperor Owgust in 88 B.C.? What were the principal duties of the Postmaster of the fort of Euryalus?

7.—What light do the Peggity boards in the Candia museum throw on the early history of the game? Estimate the value of the statement of Epimenides, that the Cretan admiral was in the middle of a game when the Achæans landed.

8.—Is it true that Canon Wigram dressed up as a Capuchin at Messina and collected money for the British School?

9.—Would the palace at Tiryns form a suitable setting for (*a*) the Prisoner of Zenda, (*b*) the Dolly Dialogues?

10.—Draw a ground plan of the temple at Ægina, Santa Sophia, *or* Pont D. of the *Théophile Gautier*.

11.—Contrast the facilities for communication with their subordinates enjoyed by Sir Ian Hamilton and Lysander respectively.

12.—Did the early prosperity of Ægina depend on letting out donkeys? Was Delos regarded as a floating island on account of the difficulty of disembarkation? Has the legend of the Clashing Rocks anything to do with the fact that the Bar closes after the strait of Bonifacio?

13.—What is the number of your life-boat? What is the shortest way from Cabin No. 302 to the aft dining saloon?

14.—What change ought you to receive for five shillings in francs, lire, drachmas, and piastres? What is the purchasing power of the sum named at (1) Athens, (2) Constantinople, (3) Taormina?

15.—Have you seen Mr. Silley anywhere?

THE CRUISE OF THE "THÉOPHILE GAUTIER."

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1930.

By the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, D.D.
(*Dean of St. Paul's.*)

Those who, like myself, were Hellenic travellers last year, and looked back to a perfect holiday on that occasion, were half afraid that they were tempting providence by repeating the experience. Could the *Théophile Gautier* be as comfortable as the *Stella d'Italia*? Should we find such a congenial company in term-time, when all dons, schoolmasters and schoolboys were otherwise employed? Would it not be horribly cold, and possibly wet and stormy, in February and the early part of March?

None of these misgivings was realised. The French ship was as comfortable and steady as the Italian; the officers and crew were most obliging. It is true that we were not full, so that there was plenty of room on deck; but we were a very pleasant company. The weather was perfect till near the end—a delicious spring temperature, and spring flowers already carpeting the ground in Palestine, Greece, and Sicily. Above all, we had the incomparable Canon Wigram to make the past live again at each historic scene. He almost persuaded us to be Pagans at Athens and Eleusis, Crusaders at Rhodes, and (let us hope) better Christians in Judæa and Galilee.

There were alternative trips in Egypt and Syria. I cannot describe Cairo or Damascus, for I did not visit them. And I gave some of my impressions of Constantinople and Greece in the sketch that I wrote last year of our voyage in the *Stella d'Italia*. My unfavourable impression of Constantinople was confirmed. It has all the squalor of the East without its picturesqueness, and I think few of us were sorry to leave it. This year I admired the Mosque of Suleiman more, and the Blue Mosque less, than on my first visit. I had not noticed before the exquisite stained glass in the Suleiman Mosque, nor the great expanse under the dome. I think I was also unfair to Athens,

which, especially after Constantinople, is a clean, brisk, and cheerful city, expanding prosperously, to all appearances, and making room for the unhappy fugitives from Asia Minor. I was glad to repeat my visit to Eleusis, though the excellent motor road is less romantic than the old Sacred Way, along which I walked among the olives from Athens to Eleusis thirty years ago. In those days I thought nothing of the walk, nor of climbing Pentelicus and the citadels of Corinth and Argos. I fear I am less energetic now. It was well worth while to see Tiryns and Mycenæ again, under the perfect guide, Canon Wigram; and I am glad that I brought the Odyssey to read on deck.

I was much struck by the progress which is being made in restoring classical Greek. Thirty years ago, when I saw the Electra of Sophocles acted by Greek students at Athens, most of the audience had cribs in modern Greek, and the *Asty* next day said that "few could understand what was spoken on the stage." But to-day even popular advertisements, such as an anti-war cinema, headed "*Anathema ho polemos*!" with "*Sēmeron*" in large red letters underneath, would not have puzzled Demosthenes at all. After all, one can say anything in Greek. Such novelties as "*autokineta*," *stathmos prōtōn boëtheiōn*, *mechanorapheion*, need no explanation.

It only remains to add that an intelligent Athenian complimented Canon Wigram on the high standard of good looks set by the lady passengers on the *Théophile Gautier*, which in his opinion was superior to that of previous cruises.

But what of the places which I saw for the first time? And especially, what were my impressions of Palestine? I quite expected to be repelled by some things that I saw at Jerusalem, and if I had counted on feeling myself nearer to Christ there, I should have been disappointed. But I had not expected it. Jerusalem is the spiritual home of the sacerdotal fraternity, who kill the prophets and then build their sepulchres. The building of sepulchres has been an active industry in Jerusalem. Every site, authentic, dubious, or manifestly untrue, has been exploited by one or other of the rival Christian bodies. The Greeks, who are at home here, offend us least; the Latin churches,

with their dolls and candles and notices in French, recall to our minds only one text: "He is not here; He is risen." The Via Dolorosa, with its apocryphal legend for every turn in the road, was more painful than edifying, and the alleged site of Calvary was not convincing.

Still, there was much in the Jewish capital on which no reader of the Old Testament could look unmoved. The environs of the city, unimpressive as we approached it from the west, were magnificent from the Mount of Olives. The remains of the old Temple, with the later superstructures, and the wide sacred enclosure in which stands the Moslem Dome of the Rock—unvisited by the Jews, who are afraid of trespassing on the unknown spot where the Holy of Holies stood; the Wailing Place of the Jews, with Hebrew inscriptions rudely written on the walls; the faces and figures of the people, all evoked sympathy with the most passionately loved of all holy cities. And there was one Christian site which filled us with pure reverence and awe—the little Garden of Gethsemane, with its gnarled olive-trees, almost if not quite as old as the sacred scene enacted there.

The Dead Sea, as I expected, is a pleasant sheet of water, inviting to bathers, who can almost sit upon its heavy surface. There is nothing sinister about it, except the expanse of salt desert between it and Jericho—the latter a cheerful little place, swelteringly hot in summer.

But if I go to the Holy Land again, it is Galilee that I wish to revisit. The long drive from Jerusalem is all interesting. Various scenes of Jewish history are pointed out, and at Shechem we came to a real town, partially occupied by British Tommies. The well at Sychar is regarded as an authentic site; at any rate there is no other fountain near. The Russians are building a handsome church, which I fear will not be finished till their unhappy country wins its freedom.

The plain of Esdraelon is perfectly flat, with heavy crumbling or sticky soil. Beyond it rise the hills, with Nazareth perched on an eminence overlooking the whole of the low country. The hill from which the ungrateful Nazarenes proposed to hurl our Saviour is a formidable precipice.

Here I found what I had been hoping for. A pleasant little town, with a population of simple, hard-working, but independent people, still busy with the ancient trade of the place, the manufacture of agricultural requisites in wood and iron for the surrounding district. After wandering through two or three streets, I came upon a real carpenter's shop, where a middle-aged man and his young son were plying saw and plane, exactly as Joseph, assisted by Jesus and his brothers, might undoubtedly have been seen at or near that very spot, nineteen hundred years ago. At Nazareth we could feel that we were at the cradle of Christianity, which has, alas! departed so far from the atmosphere of that little shop in the little Galilean town.

The Lake of Tiberias is a lovely spot; but its shores are now almost desolate, and we saw no fishermen with their boats. One ought to spend a week at Tiberias or preferably at Nazareth, in order to let the atmosphere of Galilee sink in. It is impossible to sit and think in a crowd, however pleasant the company may be.

A little south of Nazareth is the new village of "Balfouria," a rare compliment to the British statesman who showed active sympathy with Zionism. No one, after a few days' visit, ought to express an opinion on this vexed question. The resident Englishman tends to sympathise with the Arabs rather than with the Jews, just as he usually likes the Turks better than the Armenians. The Moslem, it may be, is a very fine fellow, so long as he has not got his foot on your neck. One of our party secured a rare treasure in a small badge or medal, on one side of which were a crescent and a cross. The bearer was to show it to the Arabs, if necessary; and the meaning of it was, "I am not a Jew, but a Moslem or a Christian; don't kill me!" Such is the task with which our High Commissioner found himself confronted when he took up his duties. The French keep 25,000 men in Syria; our army of occupation when the riots broke out consisted of 150 men.

From Nazareth we went down to Haifa, where the ship soon hove in sight. On the way we wondered how "that ancient river the river Kishon," which is about three feet wide, could have "swept away" Sisera and his host. But we must not demand literalism from the poets. Sisera's

iron chariots would certainly have been bogged if he tried to drive them over the adjoining meadows, and perhaps this is what happened. So we said good-bye to Palestine, a land of bright flowers and rugged rocks, with a strange beauty of atmospheric effects on the distant hills; not a land flowing with milk and honey, but, even more than Greece, a holy country, where God speaks to the minds and hearts of men.

I knew that Rhodes was going to be a treat. "*Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon.*" It was famous in antiquity as one of the beauty-spots of the world. In the perfect weather which still favoured us, it seemed a place where one might live very happily for a considerable time. Across the strait is a ridge of magnificent cliffs, with snow-peaks behind them. The island stretches back from the town for nearly fifty miles, and must be full of beauties. The town itself is enclosed by such fortifications as neither Carcassonne nor Aigues Mortes can show; vast walls and deep moats, behind which a few hundred knights and a few thousand soldiers held at bay nearly a hundred thousand Turks, then at the zenith of their military renown. The wall was divided among the "tongues" of the various nations of Europe who were represented in the Order of St. John. The "tongue of England" defended a long strip, next to the fatal section awarded to the "tongue of Aragon," where the defenders built a new wall in the middle of the wide moat, a device which, so far from strengthening the defence, gave the Turks their opportunity. A colonel of engineers who was with us said, "I cannot understand how any military engineer could make such a blunder." So Rhodes fell at last; but the Knights, we are glad to hear, were for once not impaled or flayed alive; they were allowed to go to Malta.

Our good luck did not last quite till the end. A violent westerly gale caught us when we passed Cape Maleia, and prevented us from going to Syracuse, which was a great disappointment. The classical scholars on board exhorted themselves and each other as best they might. One set his teeth and said, *τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.* Another groaned, *εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι νοσεῖτε*

πάντες, καὶ νοσοῦντες, ὡς ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἐξ ἴσου νοσεῖ.

But these things are soon forgotten, and we did not miss the incomparable mosaics and cloisters of Monreale, a lovely end to our sight-seeing. We shall not forget the considerate courtesy and attention of the captain and crew, and the admirable management of Mr. Silley and his assistants.

A HELLENIC TRAVELLER'S ALPHABET.

By The Rev. Cyril Alington, D.D.

A for the Author who does what he's Asked,
B for the Bays in which Bathers have Basked;
C for the Captain, the Cook, and the Crew,
D is to Delos unDoubtedly Due;
E for the Energy shown at Egina,
F for the Forecast Foretelling "Still Finer";
G for the Greed of a Grecian carman,
H for the Harmony-fostering Harman;
I Istamboul, now the Infidels' home,
J for the Jurist Justinian's dome;
K Kan be Koupled with Komfort and Koma,
L Dr. Lyttelton's Lecture on Homer;
M for Mycenæ and Motors that took us there,
N for the Number that Nearly forsook us there;
O the Athens 'Otel and its Orful extortions,
P for the Parthenon's Peerless Proportions;
Q for Quarrelsome (that doesn't mean us),
R Mr. Roxburgh's Raptures on Venus;
S for Shore Smells ever goatier and goatier,
T for our Tour in the *Théophile Gautier*;
U for Unspeakable Ottomans—is it? Or
V for the Virtues they shew to the Visitor?
W Wigram, the Witty and Wise,
— the X-istence of X (the unknown) he denies;
Y for the Youthful who dance overhead,
Z —there is nothing to say about Z.

SANTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.
Photo : Mrs. W. Dibdin.

A VIEW IN CONSTANTINOPLE.
Photo : Mrs. W. Dibdin.

THE MOSQUE OF SULEIMAN, CONSTANTINOPLE.
Photo : J. F. Roxburgh.

INTERIOR, MOSQUE OF SULEIMAN.
Photo : J. F. Roxburgh.

LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

Below is given a short list of books most suitable for giving a general idea of the Greek genius and civilization :

" The Legacy of Greece." R. W. Livingstone (Editor).

" The Greek View of Life." G. L. Dickinson.

" Our Hellenic Heritage." H. R. James.

" The Greek Commonwealth." A. E. Zimmern.

" Studies of the Greek Poets." John Addington Symonds.

" The Pageant of Greece." R. W. Livingstone.

" The Iliad of Homer " (Prose Translation). Lang, Leaf and Myers.

" The Odyssey of Homer " (Prose Translation). Butcher and Lang.

" Aristophanes " (Verse Translation). B. B. Rogers.

" Greek Studies." Walter Pater.

" Introduction to Pausanias." Fraser.

" Handbook of Greek Sculpture." E. A. Gardner.

" History of Greece." J. B. Bury.

" History of Ancient Greek Literature." Gilbert Murray.

Gilbert Murray's Translations of the Tragedians, especially Euripides.

" Rulers of the South." F. Marion Crawford.

Sicily. (Story of the Nations Series.)

" Dalmatia." Muriel Currey, O.B.E.

" Dictionary of Mythology." (Everyman Library.)

Small Classical Atlas. (Murray.) Edited by G. B. Grundy.

" The Architecture of Ancient Greece." A. S. Dinsmoor.

" A Short Critical History of Architecture." Heathcote Statham.

" A Simple Guide to Architecture." A. L. N. Russell, A.R.I.B.A.

A further list of books especially prepared for those who do not read Latin or Greek can be seen in the " Claim of Antiquity," published by the Oxford University Press, price 1s.

CONSTITUTION AND RULES.

1.—The name of the Club shall be "THE HELLENIC TRAVELLERS' CLUB."

Object.

2.—The object of the Club shall be to promote visits to the littoral of the Mediterranean and elsewhere, to be undertaken by those from both sides of the Atlantic who are interested in classical studies and archæological research.

Constitution.

3.—The Club shall consist of :—

(*a*) Officers : President, Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretary, Chairman of Committee.

(*b*) Committee, consisting of the *ex-officio* members and ordinary members, of whom the officers of the Club for the time being shall be the *ex-officio* members, and not more than sixty additional members of the Club shall be the ordinary members.

(*c*) Members : The membership of the Club shall be limited to University men and women, who shall have the right to be accompanied on cruises by members of their families and personal friends.

Election of Officers.

4.—The President and Vice-President shall be elected annually by and from the Committee.

The Honorary Secretary shall be nominated by the Chairman of Committee.

The Chairman of Committee shall be the Chairman for the time being of the Cruising Company, Ltd., or its successor.

Functions of Officers.

5.—(*a*) The Chairman of Committee for the time being shall not have a vote except in the case of an equality of votes, when he shall have a casting vote.

(*b*) The Chairman of Committee shall arrange with the Company of which he is Chairman, to secure the use of vessels for the purposes of the Club for certain cruises, the itineraries of which shall have been approved by the Committee. The arrangements

made with the Cruising Co., Ltd., or its successor shall be made in such a way that the Cruising Co., Ltd., or its successor shall be responsible for all expenses, financial or otherwise, arising out of the cruises.

Election of Committee.

6.—The Committee shall be annually elected by and from the members. Names for election to the Committee, duly proposed and seconded by two members, must reach the Honorary Secretary before the end of September in each year. Voting papers for a ballot on these names will be issued during the ensuing October, and in order to be valid must be returned to the Honorary Secretary within one month from their issue.

Functions of the Committee.

7.—The functions of the Committee shall be the election of new members, as provided in Clause 8, the approving of itineraries of cruises, and such arrangements for lectures on board or on shore as may seem to them desirable. They shall have power to appoint sub-committees from among the members of the Club.

Election of Members.

8.—(*a*) Every candidate for election to membership of the Club shall be a graduate or undergraduate of a University, and shall be proposed by one member, and seconded by one or more members, and no member shall propose any candidate with whom he has not been personally acquainted previously to his proposing such candidate.

In the event of any candidate not knowing a member, he may be proposed personally by his own Rector or Vicar, or by any University Professor, or by the Headmaster or Headmistress of a Public School. The Proposal Form must state of which University the candidate is a graduate or undergraduate.

(*b*) The names of all candidates for election shall be submitted by the Honorary Secretary to the Committee, who shall vote "aye" or "no"; one "no" in every ten votes shall exclude.

(*c*) The Committee shall have power to invite persons of recognised academical standing to become members of the Club.

(*d*) A candidate for election who does not come under Section (*a*) shall have been educated at a Public School, or shall be a member of one of the Learned Professions, or of one of His Majesty's Services, or shall be the wife, daughter, mother, or sister of the foregoing.

Entrance Fee.

9.—The entrance fee of One Guinea shall be payable on election, but there shall be no Annual Subscription to the Club, nor any pecuniary liability incurred by members as such.

Privileges of Members.

10.—(*a*) All members of the Club shall be entitled to reserve berths for cruises arranged by the Club on receipt of the first notice from the Secretary.

(*b*) If, two months before sailing, four-fifths of the accommodation on the steamer has been reserved for the use of members and their families, the whole of the accommodation on any vessel specially chartered shall be reserved exclusively for the use of the Club. Members may reserve berths for any relatives or friends travelling with them, and servants. The Committee shall have power to make by-laws as to the reservation of berths by members.

Passages of Members: All passages are taken by members subject to the usual conditions of the Steamship Companies from whom the vessels are chartered, and the booking conditions of the Cruising Co., Ltd., or its successor.

Resignation and Exclusion of Members.

11.—Any member may be deprived of his membership in the Club by the Committee, if at least two-thirds of the members of Committee voting shall vote for his or her exclusion, provided that at least ten excluding votes are recorded.

12.—Any member may resign at any time on giving notice to the Honorary Secretary to that effect.

Alteration of Rules.

13.—The above rules shall not be added to or altered save by a vote of two-thirds of the Committee for the time being, and any such alteration shall be subject to the confirmation of the Chairman of Committee.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Abbott, The Rev. H. Alldridge, M.A.
Abbott, The Very Rev. J. W., M.A.
Abbott, P.
Abbotts, T. C., J.P.
Abel, H. G., M.A.
Abercrombie, Professor Lascelles, M.A.
Ackerley, The Rev. Canon F. G., M.A.
Acworth, Rev. H. J.
Adams, H. Mayow, M.A.
Adamson, L. A., M.A.
Adkin, B. C.
Ady, Miss C. M., M.A.
Ager, R. L. S., M.A.
Ainslie, Miss E. E.
Ainslie, Miss Gladys, M.A.
Aitchison, Thomas, M.B., C.M.
Aitken, The Rev. Canon R. Aubrey, M.A.
Aitken, Miss M. C.
Akrill-Jones, The Rev. D., M.A.
Alcock, Rev. A. E., M.A.
Alden, Percy, M.A.
Alexander, Miss
Alexander, Miss Jean
Alexander, The Rev. A. B., D.D.
Alexander, Miss M. M. C.
Alington, The Rev. C. A., D.D.
Alington, The Rev. C. W., M.A.
Alivazatos, K. H.
Allan, Miss Agnes, M.A.
Allan, Bryce
Allan, Miss Gladys B., B.A.
Allan, The Rev. G. K., M.A.
Allan, John
Allan, Miss D. Spence, M.A.
Allan, Miss M. Spence, M.A.
Alldis, The Rev. Canon J.
Allen, A. H. B., B.A.
Allfrey, F. H., M.A.
Almond, Miss M. E., M.A.
Altamont, The Earl of, F.S.A.
Alvis, The Rev. G. E., M.A.
Amphlet, C. E.
Anderson, The Rev. Dr. E. E.
Anderson, J. G. C., M.A.
Anderson, W. Blair, D.Litt., M.A.
Anderton, Basil, M.A.
Andrew, The Rev. D. M., M.A.
Andrew, S. O., M.A.
Andrews, C. R. P., M.A., Litt.D.
Anerdirck, Miss M.
Angus, C. F.
Angus, The Rev. Professor S.
Annand, A. W.
Anthony, Miss
Antrobus, J. Coutts, M.A.
Archer, A. B., M.A.
Archer, Miss S. C.
Archibald, Miss Edith, M.A.
Archibald, James
Arkwright, Captain
Arkwright, Mrs.
Armidale, The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of
Armitage, The Rev. Professor E., M.A.
Armitage, Miss
Armitage, Edward, M.A.
Armitage, The Ven. W. J., D.D.
Armitstead, The Rev. Canon J. H., M.A.
Armour, The Rev. Canon S. C., D.D.
Armstrong, The Rev. C. B., M.A.
Armstrong, Edward, M.A.
Armstrong, Henry E., F.R.S.
Armstrong, Miss Ivy M., B.A.
Armstrong, Miss R. E., B.A.
Arnall, George, F.S.I.
Arnold, E. C., M.A.
Arnold, Edwin L.
Arnold, F. O., M.A., M.D.
Arnold, Sir Thomas W., C.I.E., Litt.D.
Arnold, Dr. William R.
Arscott, Miss
Arthur, Miss Leonora
Ashby, R. C.
Ashcroft, A. H., D.S.O., M.A.
Ashcroft, R. L., M.C., M.A.

Ashdown, The Rev. G. M., M.A.
Ashford, C. E., C.B., M.V.O., LL.B.
Ashton of Hyde, The Lord
Ashwin, The Rev. R. F., M.A.
Aston, F. W.
Atkins, H. E., M.A.
Atkinson, A. H., M.A.
Atkinson, E. Cuthbert, M.A.
Atkinson, R. L., M.C., M.A.
Atkinson, T. D.
Attlee, Wilfred, M.D., L.R.C.P.
Atwood, The Rt. Rev. J. W., D.D.
Auckland, The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of
Auden, A. W. M., M.B.
Austen, The Rev. Chancellor, M.A.
Austen, Lt.-Col. H. Godwin
Austin, Stanley
Austin, William, M.A.
Auty, Miss P. E., M.A.
Ayre, The Rev. A. Early

Bacchus, J. Gordon, M.A.
Backhouse, Joseph, B.Sc.
Bacon, Benjamin W.
Bacon, Miss J. R.
Badcock, H. D., M.A.
Badley, John H., M.A.
Badock, Professor S. H., J.P., *Chancellor Bristol University.*
Bagenal, Hope
Baggally, The Rev. J. W., M.A.
Bagnell, Miss Hope D., M.A.
Bailey, Miss A. E., B.A.
Bailey, Cyril, M.A.
Bailey, C. W., M.A.
Bailey, H. C.
Bailey, Miss S. J.
Bailey, W. O.
Baillie, J. B.
Baily, Miss D., M.Sc.
Bainbridge-Bell, L. H., B.A.
Baines, The Rev. C. F., M.C., D.S.O.
Baird, Professor A. C., M.A., B.Sc.
Baird, Colonel A. W., F.R.S., R.E., C.S.L.
Baker, C. M., C.I.E., B.A.
Baker, Miss E. E.
Baker, Mrs. Franklin T.
Baker, The Rev. G., M.A.
Baker, H. Trevor, M.A.
Baker, P. M., B.A.
Baker, S. E., M.A.
Baker, S. T., B.A., B.Sc.
Baker-Gabb, Miss Blanche, M.A.
Baldwin, The Rev. Edward C., M.A.
Bales, Capt. P. G., M.C., M.A.
Balfour, The Rt. Hon. G. W., P.C., LL.D.
Balfour, Henry, M.A.
Balgarnie, W. H., M.A.
Ball, Miss J. S. C.
Ball, Mrs. Sidney
Ballard, G. Hartley, M.Sc.
Bancroft, Dr. Frederic
Banks, Miss R. D.
Banks-Davis, H. J., M.A.
Banner, D. Harmood-, B.A.
Barber, The Rev. John, M.A.
Barber, Norman K.
Barber, The Rev. Canon T. G., M.A.
Barbour, George F., D.Phil.
Barclay, Dr. A. J.
Bardsley, Miss F. B., B.A.
Baring, The Hon. Cecil, M.A.
Barker, E. P.
Barlow, Miss K. E. F.
Barlow, P. S., M.A.
Barlow, Sir Thomas, Bart., K.C.V.O., M.D.
Barnard, Francis Pierrepoint, M.A., D.Litt.
Barnard, Williams, M.A., LL.B.
Barnes, F. R., M.A.
Barnes, The Rev. W. Emery, D.D.
Barnett, Dame Henrietta
Barnett, Mrs. H. A. Lake, B.Sc.
Barr, J. Gordon, B.A.
Barratt, The Rev. J. B. S., M.A.
Barrett, Miss H. M.
Barrington, Miss Amy
Barry, The Rev. F. R.
Barry, The Rev. J. S., M.A.
Barry, Maurice

Barter, The Rev. H. F. T., M.A.
Bartlet, J. Vernon, M.A., D.D.
Bartlett, Rev. Alden E.
Barton, H.
Barton, J. E.
Barton, The Rev. W. J.
Batchelor, Miss
Bate, R. S., M.A.
Batten, H. Mortimer
Batterbee, H. H., M.A.
Battiscombe, E. M., M.A.
Baverstock, The Rev. A. H., M.A.
Baxter, The Rev. H., M.A., B.D.
Bay, The Rev. L. Hansen, B.Sc.
Bayfield, The Rev. M. A., M.A.
Baynes, The Rt. Rev. A. Hamilton, D.D.
Beach, The Rev. Sylvester W., D.D.
Beal, The Rev. S. Gilbert
Bean, The Rev. Clement W.
Beard, Miss M. G.
Beare, Professor J. I., M.A.
Beck, Miss E.
Beck, H. M., M.A.
Beckwith, E. G. A.
Beddard, Mrs.
Beddoe, John, F.R.S., M.D., LL.D.
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Beeton, Miss M. A.
Belcher, Miss E. M., M.A.
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Bell, Benjamin, B.D.
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Bell, E. A.
Bell, Miss E. Moberley
Bell, G. F., M.C.
Bell, The Rev. G. M., M.A.
Bell, H. I.
Bell, Rev. J. A. H., M.A.
Bell, The Rev. M. F., M.A.
Bell, The Rev. R. A. E., M.A.
Bellars, The Rev. Arthur
Bendigo, The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of
Benn, A. J. H.
Bennett, A. H., M.A.
Bennett, The Rev. B. C., M.A.
Bennett, The Rev. D. D.
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Bennett, Dr. Joseph
Bennett, L. H.
Bennion, A. T.
Benson, Miss A. M., M.D.
Benson, C. J.
Benson, R.
Bensusan, S. L., J.P.
Bent, Mrs. Theodore
Benton, Miss S.
Beresford, J. D.
Beresford, R. A. A., M.A.
Berman, L. E.
Bernays, E.
Berrians, E.
Berry, Sir James, B.S., F.R.C.S.
Bertram, Sir Anton, M.A.
Best, J. Storr
Bethell, The Hon. Mrs.
Bethune, The Rev. M. R., M.A.
Betts, The Rev. Herbert P., M.A.
Bevan, The Rev. C. O., M.A.
Bevan, The Ven. Henry E. J.
Beveridge, Miss E., M.A.
Bickersteth, The Rev. H. V., M.A.
Bickersteth, The Rev. K. J. F., M.C., M.A.
Bigham, F. T.
Bingham, R. W.
Binyon, Lawrence.
Birch, W. Clarkson
Birchall, Peter
Bircher, Dr. E., LL.D.
Birks, Rev. Cyril, B.A.
Birley, L., C.S.I., C.I.E.
Birley, N. P., D.S.O., M.C.
Black, Mrs.
Blackader, A. D., M.D., LL.D.
Blackburne, Rev. A. S. P., M.A.
Blacker, Cecil R.
Blackie, Capt. A., R.E., M.A.
Blackie, The Ven. E. M.
Blackledge, Miss Katherine
Blagden, Rt. Rev. M., M.A., *Lord Bishop of Peterborough.*
Blair, Mrs. E. Hunter
Blair, Hugh, M.A., Mus.D.

Blake, Mrs. R., M.B.E., J.P., M.A.
Blakeney, E. H., M.A.
Blakiston, The Rev. F. M., M.A.
Blakiston, The Rev. H. E. D.
Block, The Rev. C. E., M.A.
Blofield, The Rev. Canon Stuart, M.A.
Blunt, The Rev. A. W. F., M.A.
Blunt, Gerald, M.A., F.R.G.S., J.P.
Boggis, The Rev. R. J., M.A.
Bolton, P., M.A.
Bolton, R.
Bond, Edward, M.A.
Bond, Miss M., M.A.
Bonnett, Miss I. G.
Boot, The Rev. Alfred, M.A.
Booth, Dr. Mary
Boreel, Sir Jacob, Bart.
Borlase, The Rev. G. W., M.A.
Borrie, Miss E. R.
Borwick, Frank, M.A.
Bosanquet, The Rev. F. C. T.
Bosanquet, Professor R. C., M.A.
Botting, Cecil G.
Boucher, The Rev. A. H.
Boughey, C. L. F.
Boulter, J. S., M.A.
Bourchier, The Rev. Basil G.
Bowen, Professor C. R.
Bowen, H. C., M.A.
Bowerman, Miss E. E.
Bowes, C. K., M.D.
Boyce, The Rev. W. A., B.A.
Boyd, Miss Dreda, LL.A.
Boyd, Miss E. H.
Boyd, The Rev. R. H.
Boyt, J. E., M.A.
Bradford, The Rev. B. Wyatt, M.A.
Bradford, The Rev. E. E., M.A., D.D.
Bradford, Miss G. E. L.
Bradford, J. R., M.D., D.Sc.
Bradley, Miss E. M., M.A.
Bradley, Professor Glenn D.
Bradley, The Rev. W. E.
Braley, The Rev. E. F., M.A.
Bramston, The Rev. J. Trant
Bramwell, Miss A. B., B.Sc.
Bramwell, Miss
Brander, Mrs.
Brash, Miss I., B.A.
Breene, The Rev. Richard S., M.A., LL.D.
Brett, Very Rev. H. R., *Dean of Belfast.*
Brew, Miss L. C., M.A.
Brierley, Henry, B.A.
Brierley, J. L.
Brigg, J. J., M.A.
Brinton, Hubert, M.A.
Briscoe, Miss Helen
Briscoe, The Rev. S. T., M.A.
Bristol, The Ven. Archdeacon of
Broadbent, Miss C. H.
Broadbent, Miss E. L., M.A.
Broadbent, Miss S.
Brock, Miss E. M.
Brock, Miss M. D., Litt.D.
Brockwell, C. A. Brodie
Brodby, Percy, M.A.
Brooks, Ernest W., M.A.
Brooks, The Rev. T. B. Harvey, M.A.
Broom, C. G. M., M.A.
Brounger, Capt. Kenneth, D.S.O., R.N. Rtd.
Brown, Arthur Cassels
Brown, The Rev. Canon W. J.
Brown, G. C., M.A.
Brown, Miss Helen
Brown, Miss I. M., B.A.
Brown, James
Brown, Miss M. W., M.A.
Brown, Miss S. Warwick
Brown, W. Langdon, M.D., F.R.C.P.
Brown, Mrs. Langdon
Brown, William, M.D., D.Sc.
Brown, The Rev. W. H. Bonson
Browne, Rev. F. D.
Browne, Henry, M.A.
Brownrigg, A. C.
Brownrigg, Charles E., M.A.
Bruce, J. G.
Bruce, The Rev. R. D., M.A.
Brunwin, Dr. A. D.
Brutton, H. L.
Bryans, Clement
Buchan, A. C. H.

Buchanan, Miss M. J.
Buckland, Major-Gen. Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.B.
Buckley, John, B.Sc.
Buckmaster, Charles A., M.A.
Buckmaster, Martin A., A.R.C.A.
Budworth, The Rev. Canon R.D., M.A.
Bulkeley-Johnson, Capt. V.
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Seligman, W.
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Stout, W. H.
Swezey, The Rev. G. S.
Terry, S. S.
Thompkins, D. J.
Thompson, J. V.
Turner, A. M.
Van Doren, W.
Von Kleinsmid, R. B.
Walter, Miss D. C.
Wendt, Miss C.
White, The Rev. G. E., D.D.
White, H. S.
Whitmarsh, Dr. H. A.
Wightman, J. P.
Williams, F. F.
Williams, S. P.
Woodbury, Miss M.

CLUB CRUISES FOR 1930-1.

CRUISE 22. Autumn, 1930.

PROVISIONAL ITINERARY.

Subject to alteration.

Dates.	*Port.*
Sept. 2, Tuesday ...	**London.**
,, 3, Wednesday ...	**Marseilles.**
,, 4, Thursday ,, 5, Friday	At Sea.
,, 6, Saturday ...	**Katakolo** (weather permitting) for Olympia.
,, 7, Sunday ...	**Aegina.**
,, 8, Monday ,, 9, Tuesday	**Piraeus** for Athens and Eleusis.
,, 10, Wednesday ...	At Sea.
,, 11, Thursday ,, 12, Friday	**Constantinople.***
,, 13, Saturday ...	At Sea.
,, 14, Sunday ...	**Cos.**
,, 15, Monday ...	**Rhodes.**
,, 16, Tuesday ...	**Candia** (Crete) for Knossos.
,, 17, Wednesday ...	At Sea.
,, 18, Thursday ...	**Syracuse.**
,, 19, Friday ...	**Palermo.**
,, 20, Saturday ...	At Sea.
,, 21, Sunday ...	**Marseilles.**
,, 22, Monday ...	**London.**

* The vessel will steam up the Bosphorus before sailing from Constantinople.

CRUISE 23. 1931.

NORTH AFRICA & MAGNA GRAECIA.

Leaving London February 11th; returning to London February 28th, visiting **Marseilles**; **Algiers**; La Goulette for **Tunis** and **Carthage**; Sousa, for **Kairouan**; Porto Empedocle, for **Girgenti**; **Syracuse**; Messina for **Taormina**; **Palermo** for **Segesta**; **Naples** for **Paestum** and **Pompeii.**

The above itinerary is subject to modification.

Full particulars on application.

CRUISE 24. 1931.

PROVISIONAL ITINERARY.

Subject to alteration.

Dates.	*Port.*
Mar. 3, Tuesday ...	Leave **London.**
„ 4, Wednesday ...	Leave **Marseilles.**
„ 5, Thursday „ 6, Friday	At Sea.
„ 7, Saturday ...	**Malta.**
„ 8, Sunday „ 9, Monday	At Sea.
„ 10, Tuesday ...	Arrive **Alexandria.**
„ 19, Thursday ...	Leave **Haifa** morning; leave **Beyrout** evening.
„ 20, Friday ...	Arrive **Famagusta** (Cyprus).
„ 21, Saturday ...	At Sea, sailing from **Famagusta** 7 a.m.
„ 22, Sunday ...	**Rhodes.**
„ 23, Monday ...	**Patmos** (weather permitting).
„ 24, Tuesday „ 25, Wednesday	**Piraeus** for Athens, Eleusis, etc. Sail 6 p.m.
„ 26, Thursday ...	At Sea.
„ 27, Friday ...	**Itea** for Delphi.
„ 28, Saturday ...	At Sea.
„ 29, Sunday ...	**Kotor** [**Cattaro**] for Cettinje.
„ 30, Monday ...	**Ragusa.**
„ 31, Tuesday ...	**Spalato.**
April 1, Wednesday ...	Arrive **Venice.**
„ 2, Thursday ...	Arrive **London.**

CRUISE 25. 1931.

PROVISIONAL ITINERARY.

N.B.—Those who wish to leave LONDON a day earlier, on Tuesday, or a day later, on Thursday, can do so, but Thursday is not recommended.

Dates.	*Port.*
April 1, Wednesday ...	Leave **London.**
„ 2, Thursday ...	Arrive **Venice,** evening.
„ 3, Friday ...	In **Venice,** sailing evening.
„ 4, Saturday ...	**Spalato.**
„ 5, Sunday (Easter) ...	**Ragusa.**
„ 6, Monday ...	**Kotor** [**Cattaro**] for Cettinje.
„ 7, Tuesday ...	At Sea.
„ 8, Wednesday ...	Arrive **Itea** for Delphi.
„ 9, Thursday ...	**Corinth.**
„ 10, Friday ...	**Katakolo** for Olympia (weather permitting).
„ 11, Saturday ...	**Aegina.**
„ 12, Sunday „ 13, Monday	**Piraeus** for Athens, etc.
„ 14, Tuesday ...	**Nauplia** for Mycenae.
„ 15, Wednesday ...	**Candia** for Knossos (weather permitting)
„ 16, Thursday ...	At Sea.
„ 17, Friday ...	**Syracuse.**
„ 18, Saturday ...	**Porto Empedocle** (weather permitting) for Girgenti.
„ 19, Sunday „ 20, Monday	At Sea.
„ 21, Tuesday ...	Arrive **Marseilles.**
„ 22, Wednesday ...	Arrive **London.**

Conditions subject to which all Bookings are accepted.

1.—Members may reserve berths on any Cruise organised by the Club, without payment of a preliminary booking fee. A deposit of £20 per berth is payable on the reservation being confirmed, and the balance is due one month before the date of departure. In the event of cancellation by the member after payment has been made, the sums paid as deposit and as balance will be refunded, less a deduction of 10 per cent. and less any expenses incurred, including the proportion of any sums payable to the Steamship and Railway Companies.

2.—The arrangements for the Tours and Cruises of the Hellenic Travellers' Club are made by Sir Henry Lunn, Limited, who accept all financial and other responsibility for the due carrying out of the arrangements or otherwise, subject to the following conditions.

3.—The right is reserved by the Steamship Company, if anything occurs to prevent the steamer announced from being used, or for any reason due to the exigencies of their service, to replace the steamer, at any time—with or without notice—by another suitable vessel, and in such event they will allot, as far as possible, equivalent accommodation on the substituted steamer.

4.—All itineraries of Cruises are subject to any modification which, in the opinion of the Commander or Cruise Manager, is desirable for the safety of the passengers or for other reasons.

5.—No promise or agreement, whether to remit any sums due, or to refund any sums, or any portion of any sums already, for whatever reason paid, nor any promise or agreement to alter the programme of any tour or the hotel accommodation (including allotment of rooms) in connection therewith, or otherwise to modify in any respect whatever any agreements or arrangements made or authorised by Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd., will be recognised, unless made by the Head Office, at 5, Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1, and any such promise or agreement, whether made by representatives abroad, or at sub-offices, or by agents, or by conductors, or by contractors, or by any other person, will be void.

6.—No responsibility is accepted for any deviation from, or interruption of, the programme caused by railway companies or other carrying agencies, or by weather, war, cholera, strikes, or any other cause, and members may be called on to pay any expense resulting therefrom. Should the necessary number not book, any moneys paid will be returned in full and the liability of the Club or Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd., will entirely cease.

7.—Though the greatest care is taken to secure the safety and the comfort of passengers by the employment of the best agencies for transit and otherwise, in no circumstances whatever is any responsibility accepted from any cause whatsoever for any loss or injury of any kind whatsoever to person or to property, whether accidental, or arising out of the default of any carrying agency, or when personal effects are handed over to agents for customs clearance, conveyance between stations, steamboats, hotels, in the motor cars or carriages, or otherwise.

8.—Though every effort is made to reserve adequate and comfortable accommodation in the trains and steamboats in connection with the various tours organised, and to ensure that the hotels, pensions, or hostels to which clients are allotted are prepared to receive clients in a manner which will fulfil in every respect the representations made (whether such representations refer to accommodation in the hotels, pensions, or hostels, or to arrangements for excursions or otherwise), nevertheless Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd., cannot be responsible, and as a fact do not hold themselves responsible, for any alteration or breakdown in the arrangements of the Railway Companies or Steamboat Companies, or Hotel Proprietors, or Contractors, and no claim for reimbursement or compensation for failure in such arrangements or any of them will be entertained.

9.—Members are strongly recommended to insure their baggage and valuables. The Assistant Secretary can arrange accident insurance policies at a small charge and also undertakes the insurance of baggage at low rates. Members must accept responsibility for their own luggage. The Club does not hold itself liable for any damage to, or detention or loss of luggage.

10.—No allowance whatever can be made for lost railway or steamship tickets, or for lost hotel coupons, nor can any refund or allowance be made of or for any charges made by any railway companies or by any steamship companies or by others, whether such charges are made as excess fares (for whatsoever cause) on account of any railway ticket or any steamship ticket, or otherwise.

11.—All charges for luggage, refreshments (other than the meals stated in the itineraries), and incidental expenses, wines, etc., en route, must be paid for by the clients by whom they are incurred.

12.—All prices quoted for tours are liable to be raised in accordance with any increase of railway or steamship fares, etc., at any time before departure of the party, even though the account be paid, and such alteration may be made without notice.

NOTE.—All cheques should be made payable to the Hellenic Travellers' Club, and crossed, & Co. Not negotiable.

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